THE HISTORY OF
THE WORLD-CONQUEROR



TERKEN KHATUN, THE MOTHER OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD, BEING LED CAPTIVE BY THE MONGOLS

from a very old MS. of Rashid-ad-Din in the Bibliothèque Nationale

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

by

'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik
JUVAINI

Translated from the text of

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QAZVINI

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THE HISTORY OF
THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

Part Two Continued

[XI]

[94] OF THE REMAINING EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD OF HAPPY MEMORY AND OF THE CONFUSION OF HIS AFFAIRS

WHEN the [rule of the] Ascendant, Fortune, has been transferred to [that of] the Anareta,[1] Tribulation, then the sun of a man's prosperity, which used formerly to thrust out its head through the collar of the Eastern horizon of felicity, approaches the decline of disappointment and the West of adversity, and the tail node of evil augury becomes the cause[2] of his misery. And although he be adorned with excess of perspicacious counsel and with superabundance of judicious resolve and decked out with the experience of a lifetime of dealing with men, yet every reflection that he makes and every task that he undertakes becomes the source of evil and the cause of confusion to his mind and spirit, whilst every perfection he awaits occasions deficiency and privation; to such an extent that from observing the auspiciousness of the benefic planets[3] he is affected by the inauspiciousness of the malefic planets,[4] and the light of his brilliant mind, which used to shine like the moon in the Sea of Darkness, lies hidden in the net of eclipse behind the curtain of amazement and in the fog of bewilderment, and the flints of his desire give no spark, and the means of salvation are precluded from him, and he loses sight of the goal to which the path of righteousness leads, and the veil of neglect covers his heart and eyes, so that all his actions tend to nothing but the frustration of his cause. *God*

[1] *jirm-i-qāṭi'* : the planet which causes death, the Anareta (a corruption of ἀναιρέτης) or Abscissor of European astrologers. Professor O. Neugebauer of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and Professor E. S. Kennedy of the American University, Beirut, have been good enough to check my translation of this and two other astrological passages (pp. 374–5 and 567–8).

[2] *ra's* : lit. 'head', i.e. 'head node'. The head and tail nodes are the *caput draconis* and *cauda draconis* where the orbit of the Moon intersects that of the Sun —with both Sun and Moon near such a node, and only then, an eclipse becomes possible.

[3] Jupiter and Venus.

[4] Saturn and Mars.

Almighty hath said: 'And when God willeth evil unto men, there is none can turn it away, nor have they any protection beside Him.' [5]

> *When God wishes something to a man, even though he be endued with wisdom, and intellect, and understanding,*
> *And craft which he exercises against whatever is brought to him through the unpleasant resources of Fate,*
> *He causes him to be ignorant, and blinds his eyes, and plucks him out of his wisdom like a hair,*
> *Until, when His decree concerning him has been carried out, He restores his understanding to him in order that he may take warning.*[6]

If therefore, kind and gentle friend, thou art doubtful and [95] suspicious of these statements and dost not credit the tales of the Ancients—

> If thou believest me not, then put out thy hand,

and seize the rein of this manifest parable, and view this circumstance with the eye of truth, and hearken to this tale with the ear of understanding, and take a taste from this potful of wonders with the palate of experience, and with the nostrils of acceptance sniff the scent of this advice! Now these allusions are explained and these secrets and mysteries revealed in the form and shape of the life of the Sultan of happy memory, Muhammad *(may God illuminate his example and cause him to dwell in His gardens!).* For as long as the humpbacked circle, and the blind-hearted heavens, and the base wheel, and the chameleon world, and unkindly Fate were in agreement with his commands and wishes, without any great effort or endeavour on his part all the marvels of Fortune came out to meet the vanguards of his ambitions whilst the delegations of Prosperity welcomed the main body and the wings. He turned the reins of intention in the direction of no undertaking but that the grandeur of his daily increasing fortune made a night-attack upon the hearts of foes and rebels with fear and dread of the punishment of his furious

[5] Koran, xiii, 12.

[6] Abu-Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Abdallah b. Isma'il al-Mikali, governor of Nishapur. Quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* and also by 'Utbi. (M.Q.)

severity. The leader and commander of his army was ever-wakeful Luck, whilst his guard and scout were the protection and custody of the Almighty. The centre and right consisted of cherub angels, while the left was composed of relays of the troops of heavenly blisses. His parasol was fashioned by the concurrence of Fate and Destiny, and his banners were raised with the assistance of Victory and Triumph, the pen of Success having written on the borders thereof with the ink of Divine Assistance the words: *'Help from God and speedy conquest!'*

Prosperity to the South and victories to the North;
Heaven beside the stirrup and Fate beneath the reins.

But when his luck turned and the side-wind of adversity extinguished the fire of prosperity, the water of success was muddied with the dust of disappointment and the guides of his counsels and deliberations avoided the pathway of righteousness [96] and strayed from the station of rectitude. And one of the first signs of coming events and harbingers of future happenings was that in the year . . .[7] he set out against the Abode of Peace *(may it continue to flourish!)*.[8] At that time the robe of the Caliphate was adorned by the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah,[9] and there had been bad feelings between them, one of the reasons for which was that when Jalal-ad-Din Hasan [10] adopted Islam and sent a *sabil* [11] on the Pilgrimage the Caliph had given his standard and *sabil* precedence over those of the Sultan, treating the latter's representatives with contempt. Other incidents also occurred, and Sultan Muhammad was deeply offended and obtained *fatwas* from the *imams* of his kingdom to the effect that the 'Abbasids had no right to the Caliphate, that the title belonged to the *sayyids* of the line of Husain and that whoever had the power to do so was under an obligation

[7] There is a blank in most MSS. The correct date, according to Ibn-al-Athir and Nasawi, was 614/1217–18. (M.Q.)

[8] Apparently written before the destruction of the 'Abbasid Caliphate.

[9] 1180–1225.

[10] I.e. Hasan III, the Isma'ili ruler of Alamut (1210–21), on whom see below pp. 698–703, also Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 217–25.

[11] Apparently a caravan of pilgrims. (M.Q.)

to redress wrongs. Moreover, the 'Abbasid Caliphs had been backward in undertaking holy wars in the way of God Almighty and, though possessing the means thereto, had failed to defend the frontiers, to extirpate the heterodox and the heretical and to call [97] the infidel to the True Faith, as is incumbent upon, nay obligatory to all in command; and so had neglected this pillar, which is the main pillar of Islam. With such argument as his pretext he designated 'Ala-al-Mulk of Tirmiz, one of the chief *sayyids*, to be set up as Caliph; and he set out to put this intention into effect.

Upon reaching Damghan he received news that the *atabeg* Sa'd [12] had approached Ray in the hope of seizing the kingdom of Iraq. The Sultan rode forward with a band of warriors, travelling like a patrol with the speed of lightning. He came upon the *atabeg* in Khail-i-Buzurg,[13] where he lay with the army of Iraq. No sooner was battle joined than the army of Iraq was put to flight. The *atabeg* Sa'd was taken prisoner and the Sultan wished to put him to death, but he sought refuge with the *malik* of Zuzan, whom he prevailed upon to intercede for him; and at the *malik's* request the Sultan spared his life. He gave his eldest son, the *atabeg* Zangi,[14] as a hostage to the Sultan and likewise settled upon him the two castles of Istakhr [15] and

[12] The Salgharid ruler of Fars (1195–1226).

[13] According to Yaqut Khail-i-Buzurg was a small town and district between Ray and Qazvin: it was considered a dependency of the former although situated nearer to the latter. (M.Q.) See also Nasawi tr. Houdas, 25, where the name is misspelt Djebel-Bourzouk.

[14] Not mentioned by Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, or Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*.

[15] I have adopted the Istakhr of C, E and G (the usual spelling of the name) in place of the Istarkh of the text. The Castle of Istakhr was also known as Istakhr-Yār, 'the Friend of Istakhr'. This and two other fortresses, the Castle of Ashkanavān (on which see the following note) and the Qal'a-yi-Shikasta, or 'Broken Castle' lay on the hills to the north-west of the town of Istakhr, a Sassanian foundation, which at the time of the Moslem conquest was one of the largest cities of Fars. It was situated in the narrow gorge through which the Pulvar passes before entering the Marv-Dasht and so lay a short distance to the north of the great Achaemenid platform-palace of Persepolis. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 275–6, and, for a description of the Castle of Istakhr, Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 131.

Ashkanavan[16] and two thirds of the revenue of Fars; upon which he received permission to return home. When he arrived before the Castle of Istakhr the *atabeg* Abu-Bakr having learnt the terms of the agreement issued forth to do him battle. Father and son stabbed one another and the *atabeg* Sa'd took his son prisoner and then complied with the engagement he had given and the terms he had accepted.[17]

At the same time the *atabeg* Öz-Beg, who also had been cherishing a desire for the kingdom of Iraq, entered Hamadan from Azerbaijan,[18] but fled when the Sultan's forces [98] arrived. They wished to pursue him but the Sultan said that it would be inauspicious to capture two kings in one year and bade them let him go. Reaching Azerbaijan in safety he struck coin and read the *khutba* in the Sultan's name and sent envoys to him with gifts and presents.

From Hamadan the Sultan proceeded in the direction of Baghdad. By the time he had reached Asadabad it was mid-autumn. The vanguard of Dai[19] made an assault and struck with their swords in the shape of snow that descended like showers of arrows. In that night the Sultan's army witnessed the Day of Judgement, and from the spears of the cold and the wind, which no breastplate could ward off, they experienced the terrors of *zamharir*.[20] Many persons perished in the snow, and of the animals there was left not even a trace, so that in the hands of Resolve there remained only Repentance and Regret: '*for*

[16] Reading Ashkanavān (AŠKNWAN) with E for the ASKNAN of the text. Other forms of the name are Shaknavān (Ibn-al-Balkhi) and Shankavān (Hamdallah). The Askanābād of Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 34) would appear to be a corruption of Ashkanavān.

[17] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 34) this encounter took place at the gates of Shiraz.

[18] In fact the *atabeg* was not in Azerbaijan but in Isfahan, which he had seized at the same time as Sa'd had possessed himself of Ray and Qazvin, viz. upon the death of Ighlamish, the governor of Persian Iraq (on whom see below, p. 702 and n. 34); and he had approached Hamadan in flight upon receiving the news of the defeat and capture of Sa'd. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 25 and 27, also, for the whole of Öz-Beg's career, Minorsky's article *Uzbek* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

[19] The Persian solar month, December-January.

[20] Intense cold.

God's are the armies of the Heavens and of the Earth: and God is Knowing, Wise.' [21]

> *Let them beware of the wrath of God whereby fairness*
> *of face is rendered foul and transformed.*

And this was a buffet *(chashm-zakhm)* upon the face of his fortune and a scratch on the cheek of his cause, and from then onward the claims of Misfortune answered one another and the caravans of Frustration and Disappointment followed one behind the other.

> I was not one that loved thee, this I know—but
> Destiny pulls down a veil before my eyes.

And since this weakness and impotence had penetrated his affairs and the miracle of the Mohammedan faith had turned aside his hand—

> Fate has turned aside the hand of my fortune; therefore
> my hand cannot reach the end of my Beloved's ringlets—

of necessity he drew back from that enterprise and remained in Iraq for a few days only in order to mend the affairs of his followers and to cleanse that kingdom from the impurities [99] of disaffection.

As he returned home, a messenger reached him from Ghayir-Khan, the emir of Otrar, announcing the arrival of merchants connected with the Tartars and the circumstances thereof. Without thinking or reflecting upon the matter or weighing the profit or loss or good or evil thereof in his mind, the Sultan at once gave orders for that party of Moslems, who had sought refuge in the asylum of his safeguard, to be put to death and for their goods, which were accounted splendid spoils, to be carried off.

> *Often one bite has prevented a second and for the*
> *enjoyment of a moment has precluded eating for all time.*

> When life darkens for a man, he does everything that
> avails him not.

In accordance with his orders Ghayir-Khan took the lives of 450 Moslems and in so doing caused Peace and Security to rise

[21] Koran, xlviii, 4.

in rebellion. And in fact, if the consequences of an act are not considered from the first, one must look for unexpected troubles that were not apparent at the beginning.

Beware of the enmity of men, for it sullies
the purity of every drinking-place.
And do not stir up war even though thou reliest
upon a firm support and a strong shoulder,
For the wise man will not drink deadly poison because
of his confidence in a tested antidote that he has.

Now Chingiz-Khan had sent the Sultan by those merchants a message to the following effect: 'The areas which bound on our territory have been purged of enemies and have been completely conquered and subjugated to our will; and we now have the obligations of neighbours. Human wisdom so requires it; that the path of concord should be trodden by either side; that the duties of friendship should be observed; that we should bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in the event of untoward happenings; and that we should keep open the paths of security, frequented and deserted, so that merchants may ply to and fro in safety and without restraint.'

[100] Not only did the Sultan fail to hearken with the ear of understanding to these counsels, but he actually put the messenger to death. And these unworthy acts gave rise to the matter which generates evil humours and were the cause of retribution and precipitate attack.

When news of these happenings reached the ear of Chingiz-Khan the fire of wrath so set him upon the hurricane of violence that with the water of destruction and perdition he annihilated the very soil of the Sultan's empire. Küchlüg, the son [of the ruler of] the Naiman, had fled from him and after defeating the Khan of Qara-Khitai had occupied his kingdom, his army was the only screen between the two parties, and therefore Chingiz-Khan first of all dispatched forces again Küchlüg, as has already been recounted.[22]

When the Sultan left Iraq for Transoxiana, he appointed Sultan Rukn-ad-Din over that kingdom—he is mentioned in a

[22] See above, i, 66–8.

separate chapter[23]—and upon reaching Khorasan went to Nishapur. He remained there a month, and carelessly, and contrary to his wont, strayed from the path of seriousness in compliance with his desires, and set foot in the wilderness of merriment, and for some days tasted the pleasures of riotous living.

> Drink wine, for the jasmine will see many a sky;
> Live gaily, for the cypress will see many a Suha.[24]
> Enjoy this one moment that thou hast on loan—
> Know that the meadow will see many a one like us.

From thence he set out for Bokhara, where he remained from the 8th of Sha'ban to the 10th of Shavval. . . .[25] [101] And since it was springtime and the world was as beautiful as a bride, he forgot the malice of the revolving circle in compliance with the verse:

> Now that the spring has smiled, fresh and new, let us have
> music, and red wine, and the locks of our beloved.

And for the remainder of his life he was constantly satisfying his desires in the company of fair songstresses and in continual drinking of purple wine, gratifying every pleasure and appetite and answering thus the reproaches of unkind Fate:

> It is the time of the rose Not long remains. Drink wine!
> What is the rose when life is gone? Drink wine!
> As the heavens revolve, in this deserted caravanserai
> No one remains long, only a very short time. Drink wine!

From thence he set out for Samarqand with the intention of proceeding against Küchlüg and collected all the armies stationed in that area. In Samarqand also out of wanton pride, nay from carelessness and because his luck and fortune had changed, he had for a while, like Venus, spread the carpet of merriment, and applied himself to Dargham[26] wine, and pitched the tent of Desire upon the plain of Gaiety. And with the

[23] See below, Chapter XXIV. [24] The star 80 *Ursae Majoris*.

[25] There is a blank in B, E and C. Probably 615 according to both M.Q. and Barthold (*Turkestan*, 370), i.e. the 30th of October to the 30th of December, 1218, which was hardly the springtime!

[26] A district near Samarqand famous for its wine. (M.Q.)

(? navīr) and bass and treble strings of the lute these words came from the Sultan's tongue to the ear of the soul of wisdom.

The plain of my heart is covered with blood, O cupbearer!
And madness has brought my heart from the world, O cupbearer!
Give wine openly for no one knows
What will appear from behind the veil, O cupbearer!

Meanwhile he received tidings of the flight of Toq-Toghan [27] before the Mongols towards Qara-Qum,[28] which is the home of the Qanqli. He left Samarqand for Jand by way of Bokhara in order to follow [102] them, but learning that the emirs and main army of Chingiz-Khan were pursuing them, he took the precaution of returning to Samarqand, where he gathered together all the troops that were still left there and then proceeded again to Jand at the head of a great and splendid host, thinking to kill two birds with one stone and not realizing that '*he that seeketh all loseth all*'.[29] He followed in their trail and between the two rivers Qaili and Qaimich [30] came upon a battle-field,

[27] On the name see above, i, 61, n. 1. Here is meant not Toqto'a Beki, but one of his sons—Qul-Toghan according to Barthold, *op. cit.*, 370 and n. 4, Qodu according to Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 134 and n. 1.

[28] See above, i, 89, n. 9.

[29] On the different versions of this first clash with the Mongols see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 369. The sources are here particularly divergent in their chronology; and Barthold and Marquart disagree in their conclusions upon this difficult problem. 'Until we have more accurate data, it must be taken as most probable that the sultan's campaign in the Turgai province was begun in the winter of 1215–16, and that his collision with the Mongols took place in the summer of 1216.' So Barthold, *op. cit.*, 371. On the other hand, Marquart, *op. cit.*, 133, concludes that the battle with Jöchi was fought about the 15th of July, 1219.

[30] QYLY and QYMJ. Minorsky, *Marvazī*, 100, n. 3, suggests the restoration of these names as QNQLY and QBJX, i.e. Qanqlï and Qïpchakh (Qïpchaq). It may be however that the forms as recorded in Juvaini are correct. In the biography of Sübetei in the *Yüan shih* (see Marquart, *op. cit.*, 132, Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cingis Han's und sein Tod*, 533–4, also below, p. 373, n. 35) there is mention of an indecisive battle between the Mongols and Sultan Muhammad on the Hui-li River, which already Marquart, *op. cit.*, 133, had identified with Juvaini's Qailï. As for Qaimïch (Qïmïch, Qaimach, etc.), H. Desmond Martin, in his article, *The Mongol Wars with Hsi Hsia (1205–1227)*, 217, quotes a Chinese report of an interview between Chingiz-Khan and the widow of the Khitan prince Yeh-lü Liu-ku, in the course of which the Conqueror recounts how Yeh-lü Liu-ku's eldest son had rescued Jöchi when he had been surrounded

where he beheld great piles of dead and fresh blood. Amongst the fallen a wounded man was discovered and questioned. It being ascertained that the Mongols had been the victors and had left the spot that very day, the Sultan, without stopping to consider, set his face to the road and hurried after them. The next day, when the scouts of Dawn raised their flashing swords out of the scabbard of the eastern horizon and removed the black bile from the brain of the army of Night, the Sultan overtook them and made ready for battle. The Mongol army did not lay hand on the skirt of war but held back, saying: 'We have no authority from Chingiz-Khan to fight with thee. We have come upon another errand, seeking a quarry which had escaped from our net.

[103] Do not, O king, do not act like a [rash] youth, do not
indulge thyself thus in what leads to calamity.

by Moslem troops in a place called Qimaq. The passage is reproduced in Martin's book, *The Rise of Chingis Khan and his Conquest of North China*, 284, but here the name of the battle-field is spelt Kimach. The report is derived, according to a footnote in Martin's article, *loc. cit.*, from the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*. In fact, as Professor Cleaves pointed out to me in a letter dated 15th September, 1955, the ultimate source of the story is not this work but the biography of Yeh-lü Liu-ku in the *Yüan shih*, 149 (*ts'e* 45), 1r4–5v7. Professor Cleaves was good enough to supply me with a translation of the relevant passage (4r2–5r2). Returning from his campaign against the West Chingiz-Khan is met by Yao-li, the widow of Liu-ku, and in the course of the interview he extols the bravery of Liu-ku's son. '"Hsieh-ch'e,"' he says, '"has left [you] and has become a Mongol. When he accompanied Us on Our campaign in the Western Region, the Hui-hui [i.e. the Moslems] surrounded the *t'ai-tzŭ* [eldest imperial son, i.e. Jöchi] at Ho-mi ch'êng. Hsieh-ch'e led 1,000 troops and brought him out [of danger]. His [own] body was pierced by a lance. . . ."' It will be seen that Martin's Qimaq or Kimach is in fact Ho-mi ch'êng, 'the city of Ho-mi', and this, as Professor Cleaves informed me in his letter, would appear to be Qamïl, the Camul of Marco Polo and the present-day Qomul (Hami) in Sinkiang. There can however be no question of a clash with Sultan Muhammad's forces on the edge of the Gobi; and it would seem therefore that the compiler of the biography or his informants substituted the familiar name of Qamïl for some unknown word resembling Juvaini's Qaimïch, of which the final -*ch* is perhaps represented by the *ch'*- of *ch'êng* 'city'. It is a curious point that the rescue of Jöchi by the son of Liu-ku has its exact parallel in the rescue of Sultan Muhammad by his son Jalal-ad-Din. See above, i, 69, also below, p. 372. As to the identity of the Qaïli and the Qaimïch, Professor Minorsky has suggested in a written communication that they are possibly the Irghiz and the Turghai.

> Do not, O king, sadden my heart, do not imperil my life
> and thy own.[31]

However, if the Sultan takes the first step and stretches his hand to war, then we have no choice and cannot turn face but must stand our ground. But if he desists and does not idly draw upon himself the fire of calamity, but considers the evil consequences of a quarrel that will end only in repentance, and hearkens to this advice with the ear of wisdom, and does not caress the tail of the viper nor wound the spirit of repose with the spear of ill temper, but avails himself of a gift that is offered him, and does not persist in this matter, it will be the nearer to the interests of his country and he will remain the farther from the infamy of corruption and the calamity of perversity.' However

> Whenever evil fortune grows angry, hard stone becomes
> like wax—[32]

and since the mirror of his fortune was clouded and the eye of his experience blinded, the Sultan was not rebuked by this admonishment nor rebuffed by these warnings—

> Thou knowest that the king's evil temper is a colocynth
> tree that is always bearing fruit—[33]

and he opened the battle in such manner that from the clanging of swords, and the neighing of horses, and the war-cries of horsemen and heroes the ear of the World was deafened, and from the dust thereof the face of the sun was hidden and the shining stars came into view. The right wing of either side attacked the opposing left wing and forced it back. Then the whole Mongol army attacked the centre, where the Sultan had taken his stand. They gave way and had almost been put to flight, when Sultan Jalal-ad-Din came to the rescue from the right wing, where he was stationed with a few horsemen. He stood firm and repelled the attack. The battle continued till

[31] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1680, ll. 3239–40. Rustam is addressing Isfandiyar.

[32] *Ibid.*, 502, l. 1146.

[33] *Ibid.*, 509, l. 1283. Instead of *tu dānī ki* 'thou knowest that' Vullers has *bidū guft* 'he said to him'. I have preferred Vullers' *hanẓal* 'colocynth tree' (which D also has) to the *jangi* 'warlike' or 'a war' of the text.

between the evening prayer and nightfall; both sides exerted themselves to the utmost and no one [104] showed the back of flight until

> When the ends of the locks of Night were combed and
> the writing of Infidelity was written upon the World—

they gathered up their skirts from the fight and encamped opposite one another.

> *And they returned with their lances shattered, and*
> *we returned with our swords bent.*[34]

The Mongol army then kindled a fire for every man and made off on their swift horses casting dust in the eyes of Fate. As for the Sultan, he remained for some time where he had encamped until

> When the true dawn appeared in the world and all
> the hundred leaves of heaven began to sprout,
> And the negro, Night, with magic, as it were, began
> to blow a flame of fire from his mouth—

he found their encampment empty and returned hurriedly to Samarqand without having gained a victory;[35] vacillation and bewilderment taking possession of his mind and his inner uncertainty disturbing his external appearance. For when he thought of the power and might of that people and of the stirring up of the troubles that had gone before, and when he realized that he had brought this calamity upon himself by force, he was overcome with misery and disgust, and repentance was manifest in his speech. For that army was but a river out of a sea, a

[34] 'Abd-ash-Shāriq, one of the poets of the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)

[35] Cf. the account in the biography of Sübetei. There is a German version by Haenisch (see above, n. 30) and I quote here from an English translation kindly provided me by Professor Cleaves. Sübetei and Jebe having pursued the Sultan as far as the Hui-li River, where Jebe had suffered a defeat, 'Su-pu-t'ai quartered [his] army east of the River and warned [i.e. commanded] his multitude that [each] man should light three torches in order to magnify the strength of the army. Their king escaped by night.' It is clear from this account that the purpose of lighting fires or torches was to intimidate the enemy and not, as Juvaini implies, to conceal the fact of the Mongols' own withdrawal. The same ruse had been employed by Chingiz-Khan himself against the Naiman. See the *Secret History*, § 193, Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 161–2.

town out of a clime, a hair out of a head, and he had seen and experienced their absolute superiority. When the seas of trouble began to rage and all the winds of affliction to blow, the ship of safety would not be able to reach the shore of salvation and the tempest of calamity would be universal. And because of the domination of doubt and suspicion the gates of true counsel were closed to him; his heart was wounded by the cruelty of the revolving dome; timidity and terror prevailed and sleep and repose departed. '*For success is brought to nought between impotence and anxiety.*' And since by his futile ambition he had attracted to himself the fire of unrest and had brought the pot of calamity to the boil—

[105] *Through greed my age has caused me to miss its advantages,*
and the greedier I was the more I missed.
The rope of desires like the rope of the sun [36] *seems all one*
piece, but when one touches it it is broken—[37]

that spy, the reputation of religion and state, was exposed and the law of severity and punishment revealed so that the nightmare of impotence and weakness gained the mastery, the peacock of the realm became the prey of the owls of Calamity and King Ka'us [38] remained in chains in the hands of the demon host of Trial and Grief. He resigned himself to inexorable Destiny and yielded to impotence and failure, surrendering to evil fortune and complied with the words: '*We submitted to the will of God.*'

If only they had made the attempt like the noble,
then they would have succeeded.
Or else they might resign themselves to their
predestined stations in life.[39]

The astrologers too said that the beneficent stars were cadent from the angles of the Ascendant and the Tenth House and the

[36] *habl-ash-shams*, i.e. 'sunbeam'.

[37] From a *qasida* by Abu-Ishaq al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. The opening line and some other verses are quoted in Vol. I, 63, 153 and 154, [i, 82, 194, and 195]. (M.Q.)

[38] Kā'ūs, a legendary king of Persia, was imprisoned by the *dīvs* or demons of Mazandaran.

[39] From a famous *qasida* by Abul-Hasan at-Tihami, of which the opening line has already been quoted in Vol. I, 240. (M.Q.)

maleficent stars were in attendance; until the transmission [of power] to the Dark Houses had passed, it would be prudent to undertake no course which would involve an encounter with the enemy.

This circumstance added to the confusion of his case, and he determined to turn back and hasten elsewhere. Most of his armies he left in Transoxiana and Turkestan, including 110,000 men in Samarqand, where he ordered the citadel to be strengthened. A corner of the moat was opened to let in water, and the Sultan passing by on the day of his departure remarked: 'If every soldier in the army which is about to attack us were to throw in his whip, it would be filled up.' The army and the people were depressed by these words. As for the Sultan he proceeded from thence by way of Nakhshab, and wherever he came he advised the people to look to their own affairs and [106] to find some refuge or asylum since it was impossible for them to oppose the Mongol army. He also sent someone to take his womenfolk from Khorazm to Mazandaran. His confusion and perturbation, his perplexity and distress increased daily and he was ever consulting the ministers of his court as to how this pain might be cured and by what means this situation might be met.

And shall the druggist remedy what has been spoilt by Fate? [40]

And when disturbing reports arrived one after the other and the confusion grew greater—

Every day the heavens give birth to a new calamity
Such that thought cannot imagine even with an effort.
One needs an understanding clearer than the sun
In order to solve the riddle of this time—

all the wise and the great were bewildered thereby and distraught at the vicissitudes of Fate; and every one spoke and suggested a course of action according to his own intellect and understanding.

The behaviour of Destiny is beyond the grasp of the mind:
man is but the plaything of events.

[40] The *Kāmil* of Mubarrad, Leipzig ed., 176. (M.Q.)

Those who had been tested with the practice of a lifetime, and had experienced good and evil, and had thought deeply on the administration of affairs, suggested as follows: 'The position in Transoxiana has passed out of our control and it is no longer possible to hold that area; but we should do everything in our power not to lose the kingdoms of Iraq and Khorasan. The armies which have been stationed in every city and upon every side must be recalled; a general advance must be made; the Oxus must be converted into a moat; and they must not be suffered to set foot across that river. *"Haply God will of Himself bring about some victory or event of His ordering."*'[41]

Others said: 'We must go to Ghaznin and gather forces there. If it be possible we shall give the enemy his reply; if not, we can make India our rampart against him.'

Sultan Muhammad preferred this latter advice [107] and with the object of putting it into practice advanced as far as Balkh. However, his son Rukn-ad-Din had sent 'Imad-al-Mulk to him with gifts and presents. 'Imad-al-Mulk was a man of influence and enjoyed great respect; and the management of affairs was in his hands. Love of home and country prevailed on him to advise the Sultan to come to him. 'For if,' he said, 'these people are victorious, we can put ourselves at a greater distance from them by going to Iraq, where we can gather together the army of that country and turn to do battle with open eyes and abundance of equipment.'

But his son Jalal-ad-Din rejected these various counsels and said: 'My advice is that we should, as much as possible, gather the armies together and advance against them. And if the Sultan have no heart for this, let him proceed to Iraq and hand over the armies to me so that I may advance to the frontier, and join battle with them, and smite them hard—[42]

Help, O strong man, raise up in me one that advances
against death and plunges whole squadrons therein.
When he purposes anything he sets its intention before
his eyes and turns away from thought of the consequences.

[41] Koran, v, 57.

[42] Lit. 'strike a stone and a pitcher together'.

He consults no one in his affairs but himself and is
satisfied with no companion but the hilt of the sword— [43]

so that we may be excused before God and man—

In order to be excused or to obtain an advantage, for he
that causes himself to be excused is like him that is
successful.[44]

If fortune is kind we shall with the polo-stick of success have borne off the ball of our desire, and if our luck be unfavourable we shall at least not be the target of the reproaches of freeman and slave, nor will they lash us with the tongue of abuse and say: "How many times did they exact tax and tribute from us! Yet in time of need they place us in the jaws of disappointment."'

He repeated these words on several occasions and was awaiting the permission of his father, from [108] attendance upon whom he was never absent. But Sultan Muhammad, being overcome with fear and dread did not heed his earnest words but would say:

'Do not lose thy head for a crown, for no king was
born of his mother with a crown.'

And, as is the custom of the unfortunate, he would regard the sage advice of his son as childish sport and pay no attention to it, because the star of fortune was still in the house of descent and disaster and he did not know that

The sword is more truthful in giving news than books:
on its edge is the boundary between earnest and play.
In the whiteness of the blades of swords, not in the
blackness of the texts of books lies the exile of
doubt and suspicion.[45]

Finally the Sultan accepted the advice of 'Imad-al-Mulk that he should hasten to Iraq and departed from Balkh with bitter joy,

[43] Sa'd b. Nāshib, one of the poets of the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)
[44] 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-'Absi. Quoted in the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)
[45] The opening lines of a famous *qasida* by Abu-Tammām in which he praises the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim billah [833–42] and describes his capture of Ammuriya [Amorion] in Asia Minor. (M.Q.)

sending a patrol from thence to Panjab [46] to obtain news of the development of events. When he came to the bank of the river at Tirmiz the patrol came up [109] to report that Bokhara had been taken, and following upon this came the news of the capture of Samarqand. At once he recited the four *takbirs* [47] over his kingdom and fastened three divorces [48] upon the corner of the veil of the bride of kingship, so that return thereto was unthinkable; and set his face to the road.

He ceased to think of good or ill

'that God might carry out the thing that was to be done'. [49]

Now the greater part of his army were Turks of the tribe to which his mother's kinsmen belonged called the Oran.[50] In the midst of all this distraction and confusion they plotted to kill the Sultan. Someone informed him of their plan, and that night he changed his sleeping quarters and left his tent. At midnight they let fly their arrows, and in the morning the tent appeared as full of holes as a sieve from the arrow shots. On this account the Sultan's apprehension was increased and his fright and terror redoubled.

Every shaft that falls from the circle of the heavens
comes as salt to the stricken one with a wounded heart.

He made great haste in the direction of Nishapur, and wherever he came he would enjoin the people, with threats and menaces, to strengthen their citadels and fortify their dwelling-places; and so fear and dread were increased a thousandfold in men's hearts and an easy matter made difficult. When they came to Kalat [51] in Khabaran [52] of Tus he was persuaded by some of his followers that the castle of Kalat, of which the upper circumference was seven parasangs and comprehended two or three fields, ought to

[46] On Panjāb or Mēla see above, i, 144, n. 1.

[47] I.e. he read the burial service over his kingdom.

[48] According to Mohammedan law the third pronouncement of divorce is irrevocable.

[49] Koran, viii, 43 or 46.

[50] *Ūrānīyān.* See above, I, 305, n. 68.

[51] The later Kalāt-i-Nādirī. See above, i, 158, n. 15.

[52] Khābarān was the district in which Abivard stood. By the 'Khabaran of Tus' is presumably meant that part of the district nearest to Tus.

be repaired, stores and treasures collected therein and troops and tribal levies transported thither—

> Whithersoever the heavens will turn in the end.

On this too the Sultan could reach no decision, and following his previous intention he came to Nishapur on the 12th of Safar, 617 [18th of April, 1220]. Here he turned his back on the affairs of the realm and set his face towards pleasure and enjoyment, amusing himself with songstresses and songs. [110] And since he now knew of a certainty that the fraudulence of wicked Fate and cruel Destiny would not suffer him to take one step in accordance with his wishes nor to breathe one breath to his heart's desire, he paid little heed to the world and would say:

> To-day one must eat the world like sugar;
> To-morrow, as thou shalt see, one will have to drink the
> blood of the liver.

It was as though the following quatrain had been taken down from his lips:

> When the rose blossoms we shall rise for an hour.
> And with the joy of wine we shall flee from the clutch of Grief.
> It may be that in another spring, O my companions,
> The rose will be scattered on the ground, and we too shall be scattered.

He therefore constantly applied himself to the quaffing of cups of wine and had no fear of the arrows of reproach. And such as ministered to sport and mirth and provided joy and pleasure gathered around him and became his companions and advisers. And he recognized no business but merrymaking. Because of arranging the jewels of women he could not concern himself with the training of men, and whilst pulling down the garments of his wives he neglected to remove the confusion in important affairs. Now at that time the vizier of Nishapur, in succession to Khoja Sharaf-al-Mulk, was Mujir-al-Mulk Kafi-ad-Din 'Umar of Rukh [53] *(may God have mercy on them both!)*. He had a noble spirit and a pleasant disposition, and Sayyid

[53] The district of Zāva.

Siraj-ad-Din composed the following verses on the occasion of his appointment to the vizierate:

> *They said—and they bore good tidings—: 'Your vizier*
> *is 'Umar al-Kafi from Rukh.' I said: 'Victory is ours*
> *For thou wilt find no crookedness in the course of the rook* (rukh),[54]
> *and justice has always been connected with 'Umar.'* [55]

Now the Sultan being present in Nishapur, all manner of people, leaders *(quvvād)* and petitioners, had come from all sides to wait on him; but no one would deal with their affairs, and they were perplexed and bewildered. One day they gathered in great numbers at the gate of Mujir-al-Mulk's palace, where they raised an uproar and began to shout abuse. Mujir-al-Mulk came out, and turning towards them spoke as follows: 'What you say is perfectly true and your complaints are fully justified, but I too am blameless in the eyes of men of sound judgement. Because of my duties as a pander *(qavvādagī)* I cannot attend to the business of leaders *(quvvād)* who are in charge of affairs; and because [111] I must see to the provisions of damsels I have no time to check the pages of registers. Some days ago the Sultan commanded us to provide so and so many ornaments for the singing girls and to do nothing else. The Sultan's orders must be complied with, but it is also necessary to attend to the requests of petitioners.'

They were engaged in this conversation when the bearer of evil tidings, that is the patrol from Panjab, arrived with the news that the Mongol army under Yeme Noyan and Sübetei Bahadur had crossed the river. The dust of grief was scattered on the Sultan's head, the fire of anxiety flared up in his bosom and the wind of fortune died down.

> *And I passed the night as though I had been attacked by*
> *a slender snake of the kind with black and white speckles*
> *in whose fangs the poison is deadly.*[56]

[54] I.e. the castle in chess. The English *rook* is in fact derived from the Persian *rukh.*

[55] A reference to the Caliph 'Umar (Omar), the father-in-law and second successor of Mohammed.

[56] From a famous *qasida* by the pre-Islamic poet, Nabigha of the Dhubyan tribe. In it he defends himself against accusations laid by his enemies before his patron, King Nu'man b. Mundhir of Hira. (M.Q.)

Having drunk every drop in the goblet of pleasure he ought to have expected the sting in the headache that followed.

> The same man drank the dregs who drank the pure wine.
>
> *That life was nought but intoxication; the delight thereof departed and the headache therefrom descended.*[57]
>
> The thought of wine and beloved left my head; the sound of harp and lute departed from my mind.

And for every joy there was substituted a sorrow and every rose was exchanged for a thorn.

> Grief is my friend, pain my intimate, complaint my minstrel, the blood of the liver my wine, and the pupil of the eye my cupbearer.

And having no choice he preferred the law of the flight of the prophets to the ordinance of God, Who saith: '*And contend with your substance and your persons in the Way of God.*'[58] The cupbearer Fate had been plying all and sundry with cup after brimful cup of patience,[59] the unpalatable drink of sorrows, and with patience they had had to taste that bitter pill out of loyalty, whilst those singers, the cares of mankind, had set the following words in the key of the Sorrows of Husain[60] to a harsh and discordant tune [112]:

> *O cupbearer of Care, if [the cup] is moving towards me do not mix [the wine], for I am mixing my cup with my tears.*
>
> *And, O young man of the tribe, if thou singest mirthfully, sing 'O grief, because of the heat of my breath.'*

In the midst of all this alarm and confusion on Tuesday the 7th of Rabi' I, 617 [12th May, 1220], he set out for Iraq by way of Isfarayin, filled with every kind of despair and composing the following *ghazal* out of the pain of his heart and the grief of his bosom:

> When Venus at dawn plays the harp upon the horizon, Fate gives shrill voice to my lament.

---

57 As-Sarri ar-Raffa' of Mosul. (M.Q.)

58 Koran, ix, 41.

59 *sabr*, which also means 'aloes'.

60 Probably a reference to Shia laments.

Discordant Fate drives out of my head desire for the
wail of the pipe and joy in the plucking of the harp.

And the dirge in the wilderness of his sorrowing heart was:

Neither the pleasure of union with the Beloved has
remained, nor yet the Beloved.
Nothing has remained of anything but grief and care.
And of the foundations of our union in the street of desire
No trace was left in the twinkling of an eye.

When he reached Ray, the Khorasan patrol, which was indeed the patrol of grief of heart, suddenly came up from another direction with the news that the strange army was close at hand. He repented of his decision to proceed to Iraq knowing of a surety that '*he had left his counsel in Ray*'.[61]

*When the crow is men's guide, the Magians' burial-ground is
their place of rest.*[62]

He departed from thence for the castle of Farrazin,[63] at the foot of which his son Rukn-ad-Din was encamped with 30,000 [113] men of the army (*hasham*) of Iraq. When they received news of the Sultan's arrival they hastened out to meet him and powdered their eyes with the dust raised by his troops. The same day he sent Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din and his mother with the rest of his harem to Taj-ad-Din Toghan in the castle of Qarun[64] and likewise dispatched a messenger to summon the *malik* Hazar-Asf,[65] who was a descendant of the ancient kings of the Lurs.

[61] A pun on *ra'y* 'counsel' and *Rayy* 'Ray'.

[62] For a variant of this proverb see below, p. 704.

[63] Farrazīn was a castle at the gates of Karaj, a town 30 parasangs south-east of Hamadan on the Hamadan-Isfahan road near the present-day Sultanabad [founded by Fath-'Ali Shah at the beginning of the nineteenth century, now Erāk]. The word occurs four times in Houdas' edition of Nasawi (pp. 15, 17, 69 and 73) and except in the last instance is mis-spelt *Qazvin*; it is also mis-spelt *Qazvīn* in the first instance in the unique Paris MS. on which Houdas' edition is based. [It appears everywhere as Qazvin in Houdas' translation. See pp. 27, 30, 117 and 122.] (M.Q.) Now Farzīn. I saw it on my left *in 1905 (coming from Burujird to Sultanabad).* (V.M.)

[64] Qārūn must be somewhere in Central Persia, probably in the region of Hamadan. (V.M.)

[65] The usual spelling is Hazār-Asp. He reigned from 600/1203-4 to 626/1228-9 or 650/1252-3. The dynasty known as the *atabegs* of the Greater Lur

Meanwhile he consulted the emirs of Iraq as to how this formidable enemy should be encountered and repelled. They thought the best course would be to take refuge in the Ushturan-Kuh [66] and make it their bastion and asylum and so repulse their foes. The Sultan went to inspect the mountains and said: 'This is no place for us to take refuge in nor can we withstand the Mongol army in such a fastness.' On hearing these words the soldiers were much disheartened. When he had descended from the mountains the *malik* Nusrat-ad-Din Hazar-Asf arrived and came straight from the road to the audience pavilion. He kissed the ground in seven places, and the Sultan honoured him by commanding him to be seated. After returning to his tent the Sultan sent 'Imad-al-Mulk and Dokhan [67] to consult him as to how they might deal with this difficult task and this fearful calamity. Nusrat-ad-Din replied: 'The best course is for us to set out this very hour without waiting to reflect or consider. There is a mountain between Fars and Luristan called Tang-i-*Balu.[68] When one passes through its defiles [114] there is a rich and fertile region.[69] Let us go there and make it our asylum. We shall muster a hundred thousand foot out of Luristan, Shulistan [70] and Fars and set men at all the approaches to the mountain. When the Mongol army arrives,

and also as the Hazaraspids ruled over Eastern and Southern Luristan between 1155 and 1423, their capital being at Idaj (Malamir). They were not descended from 'the ancient kings of the Lurs', the founder of the dynasty being a Kurd from Syria. Juvaini appears to have confused them with another dynasty, that of the Lesser Lur (1184–1597) in Northern and Western Luristan with their capital at Khurramabad. See Minorsky's articles, *Lur-i Buzurg* and *Lur-i Kūčik* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam.*

66 Ushturān-Kūh ('the Mountain of the Camels') is a mountain range stretching southwards from Burujird and separating Iraq or Central Persia from Luristan.

67 DWXAN. Perhaps for Doghan, a form of Toghan. D has ARDW-XAN, i.e. apparently Ordu-Khan.

68 Reading BLW for the TKW of the text in accordance with the suggestion made by Minorsky in his article, *Shūlistān*, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam.* Tang-i-*Balū would mean 'the Pass of the Oak'.

69 Probably the Shi'b-i-Bavvān. (V.M.) On this celebrated valley, which was considered one of the four Earthly Paradises, see Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 128.

70 On the district of Fars called Shūlistān, 'the land of the Shul', Marco Polo's Cielstan or Suolstan, see Minorsky's article in the *Encyclopedia of Islam.*

we shall advance against them with a stout heart and fight a good fight. As for the Sultan's army, which has been suddenly overcome with fear and terror, if on that occasion we gain a victory, they will realize their own strength and might and the weakness and impotence of their enemies; and they will take fresh heart.' But the Sultan said: 'His object in giving this advice is to come out in open enmity against the *atabeg* of Fars and so prevent the conquest of his country. When we have finished dealing with the foes in front of us then will be time to think of settling with the *atabeg*. My opinion is that we should remain here and send to all sides until the armies are gathered together.'

Such was his intention when his patrol arrived from Ray with the report that the Mongols had reached the town, sacked it and massacred the inhabitants. At the heels of this patrol came the Mongols themselves; and no troops had been got ready except for the gathering together of griefs and cares and the dispersal of the desires of the heart. '*And after the desolation of Basra*'[71] the Sultan realized that

> Deeds must be done at the proper time; an untimely deed is feeble, feeble.

The *malik* Nusrat-ad-Din went his way and returned home; each part of the army betook itself to a different place; and the Sultan together with his sons set out for the castle of Qarun. The Mongol army overtook him on the way. They did not recognize him and discharged arrows without realizing [whom they were attacking]. The Sultan's mount was severely wounded in several places but did not stumble and bore him at a gallop out of the whirlpool of destruction. Thus he came to Qarun, where he remained for one day receiving several horses from the emirs. Then descending from Qarun and taking guides he stole off in the direction of Baghdad. In the very same hour the Mongol army arrived and thinking the Sultan was still in the castle commenced a fierce battle. Then realizing [115] that he had departed they set out in his pursuit. On the way they fell

[71] I.e. when it was too late.

in with the guides whom the Sultan had dismissed and who informed them of his intention of proceeding to Baghdad. They set off on his trail but the Sultan had turned back and made for Sarchahan.[72] Not finding his tracks, the Mongols realized that he had eluded them and withdrew after putting the guides to death. The Sultan remained seven days in the castle of Sarchahan and then struck out towards Gilan. Su'luk, one of the emirs of Gilan, came forward to meet him and placed himself at the Sultan's disposal. He urged him to stay but after a week the Sultan departed to the province of Ustundar.[73] Here what treasure was left to him was lost and from hence he came to the district of Dabuye,[74] a dependency of Amul, and the emirs of Mazandaran came to offer their services. Wherever he halted for a day the Mongols would overtake him; and in the meanwhile his harem too had arrived from Khorazm and had gone into the castles. The Sultan sent for certain of the emirs of Mazandaran who enjoyed his confidence and were the repositories of his secrets and consulted with them as to how he might take refuge in some fastness where for a few days he might be safe from the Mongols. They thought it best for him to seek asylum in one of the islands of the Sea of Abaskun.[75] He went to one of these islands, [116] where he remained for a while. Then when the report of his presence on that island was spread about, he took the precaution of removing to another island. His departure coincided with the arrival of a detachment of Mongols whom Yeme Noyan had sent in pursuit of him from Ray. Not finding the Sultan they turned back and laid siege to the castles in which his harem and treasures lay and stormed them within a few days. When the dreadful news reached the Sultan and he learnt that his harem had been dishonoured and his attendants disgraced; that his small sons had been put to the sword; that his veiled womenfolk were in the clutches of strangers; and that

[72] Sarchāhān lay between Zanjan and Tarum on the road to Gilan.

[73] Reading ASTNDAR for the ASPYDAR of the text. On Ustundār, another name for the district of Rustamdār in Mazandaran, see Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 26, also Minorsky's article, *Rūyān*, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

[74] Dābūyē (or Dābūyī). The usual form is Dābū. See Rabino, *op. cit.*, 40.

[75] I.e. the Caspian. See above, i, 155, n. 6.

all of his wedded wives had fallen into the embraces of [other] men and had been crushed in the clasp of beggars—

And now they showed their cheeks whilst wearily beating their breasts with the hands of shame—

and when he learnt also that all of his dependants in that region had put their necks through the collar of Destiny and their feet down the smoke-vent of Calamity, and had fallen into the snare of Affliction and the jaws of Annihilation, and had become but a tale in the world and strangers amongst friends—

When the Sultan heard this, his head grew dizzy, the world grew dark before his eyes.

Such are the nights and their happenings renewing to men event after event—

then was the pain past remedy and threatened his very existence, and he preferred death to life and chose annihilation rather than survival—

Pay thy visit, then, O Death, for life is detestable; be serious, O Soul, for thy lot is hazardous.

He writhed in this anguish and agitation and bemoaned this calamity and disaster until he delivered up his soul to God and was released from the sorrow of this life and the trickery of the revolving heavens.

[117] *Farewell to the world and all its good things! It is as though Ya'qub had never sojourned in it.*[76]

And on the occasion of his death someone composed the following:

O thou, who didst die seeking the solution of difficulties,
Who didst die alone though born of union;
O thou who didst turn to dust, thirsty upon the shores of the sea;
O thou who didst die of penury on the top of treasure!

He was buried at the time upon that very island but afterwards

[76] A slight variation of one of the lines said to have been written on the tomb of Ya'qub b. Laiṣ the Saffarid, 868–78 and quoted by Ibn-Khallikan in his biography of Ya'qub. (M.Q.)

Sultan Jalal-ad-Din ordered his bones to be taken to the castle of Ardahn.[77] One of the learned composed the following lines *à propos* of the occasion:

> O king, this has befallen thee because of the evil eye;
> Thou hast departed and many a discomfiture has overtaken the Faith.
> O thou, to the crown of whose sultanate the heavens were a helmet,
> The tightness of the cloak of thy kingdom was caused by Chin.[78]

Islam was heartbroken and paralysed by this disaster; because of this catastrophe, which caused blood to drip from the eye of hard rock, the hearts of true believers were sore and sad.

> Behold the weeping of the rock and say not that it is [only] exudation; and ask the mountain to lament and think not that it is [but] an echo.

In every hovel there was weeping and in every corner sorrow in

[77] The text has Ardahīn, but I have preferred the Ardahn of E, which is also the form of the name in Nasawi and Yaqut. The latter describes Ardahn as a strong castle situated in the mountains between Damavand and Mazandaran, three days' journey from Ray. According to Nasawi, Jalal-ad-Din, during the siege of Akhlat (August, 1229–March, 1230), had conceived the idea of building a *madrasa* in Isfahan to be the final resting-place of his father's bones. He had therefore dispatched a message to his paternal aunt in Mazandaran requesting her to superintend the transfer of the coffin to the castle of Ardahn where it should remain until the *madrasa* was completed. It was Nasawi himself who wrote the letter, but not without grave forebodings. 'Par ma vie! j'écrivis cette dépêche bien à contre-coeur, tant l'idée m'en semblait ridicule. . . . Je savais, en effet, que le cadavre du prince . . . n'avait échappé à l'incinération de la part des Tatars que parce que ceux-ci n'avaient pu arriver jusqu'à lui, car ils avaient l'habitude de brûler les os de tout sultan enterré dans quelque pays que ce fût, croyant que tous les sultans étaient les descendants d'un ancêtre commun. C'est pour cela qu'ils avaient exhumé les os de Yemin ed-Daula Mahmoud ben Sebokteguin . . . qui était enterré à Ghazna et qu'ils les avaient brûlés . . . Les choses d'ailleurs se passèrent effectivement comme je l'avais pensé: les Tatars, après en avoir fini avec le sultan dans les environs d'Amid, ainsi qu'on le racontera plus loin, firent le siège de cette forteresse d'Ardehen; puis ils exhumèrent le corps du grand sultan et l'expédièrent au Khâqân [i.e. Ögedei] qui le fit brûler.' (Nasawi tr. Houdas, 319–21.)

[78] *Chīn* 'China', i.e. the Mongols, or *chīn* 'fold', i.e. too many folds.

men's hearts at this happening. Mourning and tearing their hair they recited and sang with sighs, and groans, and lamentations:

[118] *Where is the Sultan of the lands of the Moslems? Where is the exemplar of the Commander of the Faithful?*
Where is he who was like the edge of the sword in mightiness?
Where is he who was like the shaft of the spear in suppleness?
Verily, that calamity has brought misfortune upon us which we cannot see clearing away.

However we must avoid the practice of the discursive and turn aside from the pathway of rhetoric.

Make for the essence of the matter, never mind
the smell and the colour.

This, then, is all we will say in that manner:

Why dost thou relate the adventures of a cutpurse?
Listen rather to the tale of Destiny.
Let her tell the wise, and the deaf, and the blind
to whom it was that she gave and from whom it was
that she took away gold and power;
How she bound the hands of the Khusraus and how she
razed [their] castles
Let her tell how with might she broke the necks of
the haughty,
So that, when thou hast heard of the pride of greatness,
thou mayst not set thy heart upon this fickle life.

From this tale may the seeing man know that such is the end and conclusion of this present world. She is an angry deceiver, wicked and impudent; her society is the cause of estrangement, and her company fraught with peevishness. She is one that shows wheat and sells barley, a poison tasting of honey, an old hag in the guise of a beautiful maiden clad in fine silk; her lovers pursue her as in a trance and with a hundred thousand cries and laments.

The world is a juggler with a wrinkled head; it does a
thing in one way and appears to do it in another.
It calls with love and drives away with hate—all
its actions were ever thus.

Thou knowest not, when it calls thee, whither it calls thee,
and thou knowest not, when it drives thee away, whither
it drives thee.
Thou didst not come willingly in the beginning, and thou
shalt not depart willingly in the end.
Between two such disappointments how can one live contentedly
in this world ?

He must be keen of sight who realizes that the uttermost pleasure and the highest friendship are reserved for those who take warning from the inconstant deeds and actions of this present world, and have spurned it with [119] the foot of '*Touch me not!*' and shunned all contact with it, holding its good and ill to be equal and with the water of contentment washing the hand of greed for this tottering edifice full of dogs and carrion—

And it is nought but ridiculous carrion covered with dogs
which are concerned at their being attracted to it.

Consider the commands and prohibitions of the world to be a
dream; consider its wine to be nothing but a mirage.
Be like a dog, thou art intended for carrion: thou art the
shadow and the *farr* [79] of the *ustukhan-khar*.[80]

Rather they renounce its goods and vanities—

How shall the glory of God display the sanctity of divinity
to the frivolous heart ?—

and turn the face of inquiry towards the Kingdom of Heaven until the sanctity of divinity is reflected on their luminous breasts and they soar on the wings of High Resolve with Wisdom as guide over the horizon of the spirit and miracles, and stand shoulder to shoulder with the holy in the ranks of purity, and ride in the company of the cherubim gripping the firm handle

[79] The *farr* was a kind of halo, especially the aureole that surrounded the heads of the legendary kings of ancient Persia.

[80] The *ustukhwān-khwār*, lit. 'bone-eater', is another name for the *humā* or *humāi* (on which see above, i, 19, n. 1), i.e. the Common Lammergeyer or Ossifrage. It 'is a bird of good omen and its shadow also is of good omen. . . . It eats bones; and in regard to it they have said: "The *humāy* is held in greater honour than all other birds for this reason, that it eats bones and harasses no animal"' (Hamdallah tr. Stephenson, 73.)

which is trust in God, and know of a certainty that this rubbish-heap is a conduit suspended from the wind and there is no place in it that one can build on, or profit by, or find ease and comfort in—

> The ringlets of the Beloved One's tresses are the snare of calamity: we have lost our heart to them: it is the essence of sin—

neither should one be distressed or incapacitated by its deceit, nor set one's heart on its joy, [120] nor be sad and grief-stricken because of its sorrow. Its good and its evil are parallel and equal in the eyes of the wise man.

> *The meanness and the generosity of Laila are as one to us.*

> Why praise and decry prosperity and adversity? For when thou hast closed thy eyes thou shalt see neither the one nor the other.

[XII]

OF THE CAUSES OF THE ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN SULTAN MUHAMMAD AND THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL AN-NASIR LI-DIN-ALLAH ABUL-ʿABBAS AHMAD

EVER since in the days of Tekish a dispute had arisen on account of the kingdom of Iraq and Tekish had routed the army of Baghdad and slain the Vizier (as has been previously mentioned),[1] the Caliph had been constantly sending clandestine messages to the Khans of Qara-Khitai calling upon them to attack Sultan Muhammad, and he had also on many occasions dispatched letters to the Sultans of Ghur [to the same effect]. These secrets were revealed when the Sultan came to Ghaznin, and a search being made in their treasuries the correspondence came to light in which the Caliph egged on and incited him [2] to attack the

[1] See above, i, 307, where however it is stated that the Vizier died (presumably a natural death) several days before the battle.

[2] I.e. Shihab-ad-Din. See above, i, 353.

Sultan and asked him to render aid to the army of Qara-Khitai. The Sultan did not reveal this secret but kept those letters for use as evidence.

Furthermore, when Jalal-ad-Din Hasan [3] had for reasons of expediency made profession of Islam and the Caliph had accepted his profession, he wished, in order to make his conversion widely known, to send a *sabil* on the pilgrimage. [121] The Caliph commanded his standard to be carried in front of that of Sultan Muhammad, and when news of this reached the Sultan he was much distressed and offended. The Caliph also asked Jalal-ad-Din for a band of *fida'is*, and he sent him a body of men whom he had ordered not to deviate from whatever the Caliph commanded. An estrangement having arisen between the latter and the ruler of Mecca, he sent some of these *fida'is* to stab him. They made a mistake and instead of the ruler of Mecca it was his brother that they stabbed and killed. This abominable act occurred on the day of *'arafa* [4] on the plain of 'Arafat.[5] He likewise sent some of these *fida'is* to Iraq to stab and kill Ighlamish.[6] Ighlamish, who had been sent to the *atabeg* Öz-Beg by the Sultan, regarded himself as the latter's servant and chosen [emissary].

To these outward reasons were added others. The Sultan regarded himself as in no way inferior to the Buyids [7] and the Seljuq Sultans, nay he considered even one of his emirs to be on a par with the Buyids whilst he held his own worth and dignity to be vastly superior to those of the Seljuqs. Now the kingdom of Baghdad, though in the possession of the Caliphs, had in fact been under the sway of the Seljuqs, and the Caliphs of that time, such as Tayi',[8] Mustarshid,[9] etc., had been subject

[3] The ruler of Alamut. See above, p. 304, n. 10.

[4] The 9th of Zul-Hijja, the eve of the *'Id-al-Azḥā* or Feast of Sacrifice.

[5] 'Arafāt, the 'Mount of Recognition', situated 12 miles from Mecca, is the place where the pilgrims stay on the 9th of Zul-Hijja.

[6] On Ïghlamïsh see below, p. 702, n. 34. *ïghlamïsh* in Turkish means 'he wept'. On names of this type see above, i, 308, n. 8[illegible].

[7] A dynasty (932-1055) which reigned in Central and Southern Persia and Iraq.

[8] Tāyi' (974–91) lived and died long before the rise of the Seljuqs (1037).

[9] 1118–35.

to their rule and obedient to their commands and prohibitions, as has been recorded in every history. And if one studies these histories the matter becomes clear. However, the Sultan needed some excuse whereby he might be secured from the reproaches of mankind and the rulers all around him and such as might prevent its being said that a Sultan professing Islam had, out of lust for empire, attacked that Imam to do homage to whom is to complete the pillar of Islam and in so doing had cast his faith to the winds. *The Prophet of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) hath said: 'Whosoever dieth without having done homage to an Imam, hath died as though he lived in the Days of Ignorance.' And the poet hath said:*

> *We pray, and the completion of our prayer is that we*
> *believe thee to be the best Imam before God.*

He therefore asked the *imams* in his own kingdom for a *fatwa* to the effect that the Imamate of any Imam who committed such acts [122] as have been mentioned was not a true Imamate; and that when such an Imam made an attack upon a sultan who succoured Islam and had passed a lifetime in Holy War, that sultan had the right to reject that Imam and to set up another [in his place]. Furthermore, the *sayyids* of the line of Husain had the right to the Caliphate and the 'Abbasids were usurpers. Having obtained *fatwas* to this effect he removed the name of the Caliph from the *khutba* throughout his kingdom. However, this attack on the 'Abbasids was to turn out ill for the Sultan.

[XIII]

OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SULTAN OF SULTANS AND THE CAUSE THEREOF

HIS descent is traced back to Ilig [1] and Boghra-Khan,[2] who were the khans of Transoxiana and the account of whose rise

[1] By Ilig is meant perhaps Boghra-Khan's father, who bore the title of *ilig*. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 257, n. 5, also above, i, 288, n. 34.

[2] On the rise of the Qara-Khanids and the career of Boghra-Khan Hārūn b. Mūsā see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 254–60.

to power is recorded in the *Yamini* of 'Utbi.[3] In Transoxiana he was called the Sultan of Sultans.

When the Khans of Qara-Khitai made themselves masters of Transoxiana, Sultan 'Usman also came under the sway of the *gür-khan* and yielded obedience to his commands and prohibitions. The *gür-khan* for his part accorded him the continued possession of the kingdom of Transoxiana and did not oust him therefrom, contenting himself with a small annual tribute and with the appointment of a *shahna* to reside with him. Sultan 'Usman led a life of ease and pleasure, and whenever he visited the *gür-khan* was received with honour and respect. Now the *gür-khan* had a daughter such that the face of the moon was the reflection of her cheeks and the *sura* of *Beauty* had been sent down regarding her.

> O thou from whose musk-bag the locks of the beautiful
> are but a scent, on whose surface the eighteen
> thousand worlds are but an alleyway.

She was the Joseph of Egypt of her age, and the Sultan of Sultans became smitten with her beauty, [123] the shirt of his patience being rent with desire of her like a rose that has blown: their love became as famous as that of Joseph and Zulaikha. The Sultan of Sultans asked for her hand in marriage, but the *gür-khan,* because of the difference between their kingdoms, refused to agree and rejected his suit.

> *O thou who givest the Pleiades in marriage to Canopus,*
> *in the name of God how shall they come together?* [4]

The Sultan was hurt and offended, and to this cause of resentment were added others arising out of the brutality of the *gür-khan's* tax-collectors and *shahnas.*

Now at that time the local rulers *(mulūk-i-aṭrāf)* and various nobles held Sultan 'Usman in detestation, for he was, they said, the Sultan of a Moslem country who was subject and tributary to a polytheist. If he had not power to resist, why did he not

[3] The *Ta'rīkh-al-Yamīnī* of Abū-Nasr Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Jabbār 'Utbī (†1036), on which work see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 19–20.

[4] 'Umar b. Abū-Rabī'a, the famous poet [†719]. (M.Q.)

apply to the Sultans of Islam and seek their aid and support? *God Almighty hath said: 'Those who take the unbelievers for friends besides the faithful—do they seek honour at their hands? Verily, all honour belongeth unto God.'* [6] Now at that time the pomp, power and grandeur of the Sultan had taken firm hold of men's hearts and the expanse of his kingdom had been far extended; and whoever had no call on his friendship and no claim on the bond of his affection might expect to draw upon himself the calamities of Fate and look to endure the vagaries of wily Fortune. To oppose the *gür-khan,* then, was possible [only] in agreement with the Sultan. Sultan 'Usman, accordingly, dispatched messengers to him, and throughout the land of Transoxiana he perfumed the wood of the pulpits with the mention of his name and circulated coins bearing his titles.

[124] When Sultan Muhammad went to war against Qara-Khitai, Sultan 'Usman was in attendance upon him rendering obedience and assistance; and upon his return he betrothed to him a pearl from the shell of the Sultanate and a full moon from the Heaven of Bliss. To complete the nuptials, and hold the feast, and plant firmly the sapling of union, he bore him with him to Khorazm and showed him every delicate attention that is possible between two Sultans. After the marriage had been consummated Sultan 'Usman was minded to return to his own capital, but Terken Khatun would not allow this in view of the custom of the Turks, who, as a sign of respect, will not let the son-in-law go back to his own house until a full year has elapsed. When the Sultan set out a second time against Khitai and came to Samarqand, the inhabitants and notables had misgivings about the continued absence of Sultan 'Usman, to which they each gave a different interpretation. The Sultan, therefore, sent back some of his officers to give Sultan 'Usman permission to return home with his daughter: he dismissed him in a manner worthy of such a Sultan and sent an escort of retainers to accompany him.

Upon his return to Khorazm the Sultan intended daily to increase the rank of his son-in-law, but there came messengers

[6] Koran, iv, 138.

from his daughter telling how Sultan 'Usman had turned against her father and was again in league with the *gür-khan* and how he had made a mock of her by causing her to appear on a festive occasion as attendant upon a maiden he had now received in marriage from the *gür-khan*.

The Sultan bore this patiently and did not permit it to be made known until another messenger came with the news that the people of Samarqand at the command of Sultan 'Usman had massacred the persons who had accompanied the princess together with such troops as had remained in the town. The estrangement was thus made public and the Sultan could not in honour look idly on. He ordered Sultan 'Usman's brother [125] Otegin,[6] whom he viewed with favour and in whose hands he had intended laying a whole clime, to be imprisoned in Khorazm; while he himself proceeded to Samarqand. The citizens closed the gates; but when they realized that gazelles could not resist hunting lions, Sultan 'Usman took a sword and a shroud[7] and came to wait on the Sultan. The latter, however, gave orders for a general massacre, and nearly ten thousand Moslems were slain. The *sayyids*, holy men, *imams* and *'ulema* held up copies of the Koran and made intercession; and orders were then given for the sheathing of swords. When Sultan 'Usman presented himself the Sultan turned to him and said: 'O man without honour, if thou didst mock thy wife on any account, was she not after all thy consort? What sanction didst thou find in the code of chivalry for the commission of such dishonourable acts?' Sultan 'Usman hung his head in shame. Now the Sultan for his part had no intention of harming him, but his daughter, whose name was Khan-Sultan, would not suffer her husband's life to be spared. He therefore gave command for Sultan 'Usman to be dispatched in the night. This fell out in the year 609/1212-13.

The Sultan sought to win over the people of Samarqand and

[6] Apparently his title as youngest son and 'guardian of the hearth'—*ot-tegin* or *ot-tigin*. See above, i, 42, n. 8.

[7] To indicate that his life and death were in the Sultan's hands. Cf. below, p. 416.

also sent envoys to the emirs of Farghana and Turkestan calling upon them to yield allegiance to him. He likewise sent troops to Sibijab [8] both to guard the place and to make constant attacks on the remnants of the *gür-khan's* forces and so prevent them from recovering their strength and storing up supplies.

When Küchlüg learnt of the Sultan's activities and of the superior strength of his forces, he sent messengers to him and they came to an agreement in accordance with which [126] they were to attack the *gür-khan* from either side, and if the Sultan was the first to defeat him, all territory as far as Kashghar and Khotan would pass to him, while if Küchlüg was the first everything up to the river at Fanakat would be his. They reached an understanding on these terms; and the Sultan then sent army after army to attack the *gür-khan,* and these attacks extended as far as the region of Besh-Baligh. Samarqand now became the Sultan's capital, and he built a Friday mosque there and began the construction of other fine buildings.

It was a curious circumstance that when the Sultan's harem fell into the hands of the Tartar army, Khan-Sultan, who had held Sultan 'Usman in loathing, came into the possession of a dyer in Emil: he married her and they lived together until her death.

[XIV]

OF SULTAN JALAL-AD-DIN

SATAN the Tempter had caused fear and dread to gain such a hold upon the mind of his father, Sultan Muhammad, that he was seeking a hole in the ground or a ladder to the heavens in order to place himself out of reach of the boundless army and to tread heavily [1] upon the stirrups of flight before their onrush. When he retreated before the Tartars and came to Samarqand

[8] Reading, as M.Q. suggests, Sibījāb for the Panjāb of the text. Sibījāb was an older form of the name of Isbījāb or Isfījāb, which lay on the site of the present-day Sairam, a small town in Kazakhstan, north-east of Tashkent and about 6½ miles east of Chimkent.

[1] Reading *sang-girān* for the *sabuk-girān* of the text.

with the intention of removal and flight he began to distribute throughout the country and to depute as guardians of the land those valiant troops and men of battle who for long years and since remote times had been intended for such an occasion and held in reserve for days like these.

And of his sons he who was eldest of age and greatest in valour and daring, the crown upon the head of [127] kingship and the glittering lamp of the divine Faith—

The offspring of the Shadow of God on Earth: if he be mentioned amongst sultans, they will cry 'Bravo!'
And the hunters of the lands will prostrate themselves humbly before him when there are drawn up around him, ripe men and youths—

i.e. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, was alone in attendance upon his father, while the other sons were the adornment of this life—and of folly.

He was ever denouncing his father's plan, remote as it was from the target of rectitude and the highway of righteousness, and saying: 'To scatter the armies through the lands and turn tail before an enemy whom one has not encountered, nay, who has not yet started from his own territory, is the mark of a craven wretch, not the path of a mighty lord. If the Sultan does not decide to advance, and do battle, and charge, and fight at close quarters, but persists in his decision to flee, let him entrust the command of the valiant troops to me, so that we may set our faces towards the warding off of events and the forestalling of the actions of frivolous Destiny before the opportunity is lost, and our feet are caught in the mire of perplexity and bewilderment, and we are chewed like gum in the mouth of reproach and drowned in the flood of repentance before the eyes of all mankind.

Perchance shining Fortune is not awake, otherwise
such a deed is not difficult.'[2]

His father would straightway reply: 'The good and evil of this world are of a fixed extent and the order and arrangement

[2] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 464, l. 479.

of affairs and the derangement and deficiency thereof are of a specified measure. Until the time has elapsed that was predestined in eternity without beginning and written in the page of Fate and Destiny, and until an event which has occurred has produced its full effect, prevention and defence or neglect and procrastination will have one and the same taste in that crucible. For with the feeble measures which men take in ignorance under conditions of hardship and adversity and of which they know not what the final outcome [128] will be nor what number the dice of Empire will throw upon the board, hope of success and prosperity is inconceivable and in that case strength and weakness [3] bear the same appearance. Every perfection has a defect, every full moon a waning and every defect a perfection; and until this has reached its culmination and this misfortune, which has appeared on the globe of the earth through the influence of the heavens and particularly affects our own circumstances, has expended itself, and the flood thereof subsided, and the flame of the fire of calamity died down, and the hurricane of suffering slackened, to attempt to set right affairs of which the order has been deranged and the pillars shaken is perhaps to strive, and endeavour, and struggle, and fight for no profit but toil and increase of tribulation. For it is well known and an established fact that agitation in the noose of the rope only precipitates death and that from the union of conjecture and fantasy there can spring nought but madness.

If the hands of Fate are fastened on us and we are afflicted with hurt from all the varieties of her cruelty,
There are in the heavens stars without number, and yet there are none that suffer eclipse save only the sun and the moon.' [4]

They several times disputed in this fashion but the Sultan would by no means agree to his son's remaining behind and compelled him to continue at his side. When Sultan Muham-

[3] The text has *quvvat va shaukat* 'strength and magnificence', but, as M.Q. points out, the meaning must be as in the translation.
[4] Shams-al-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Vashmgīr. (M.Q.)

mad left the ruined caravanserai of this present world for the resting-place of the world to come and betook himself from a dusty salt-marsh to the Garden of Purity, then only did Sultan Jalal-ad-Din and his younger brothers with some few others cross from Abaskun to the mainland,[5] where in accordance with the verses:

> [129] *And sit not with thy eyelids covering a mote, when*
> *on earth there are a mount, a spear and a companion* [6]

he wished to gallop on to the field of manliness and by wisdom to prevail over the revolution of the circling heavens, so that perchance he might lay the dust of the unrest which Fate had raised from the earth of tribulation and blunt the sword of hardship which Destiny had drawn from the sheath of tyranny.

> *And I desire nought but generosity, for it is the*
> *nature of a free soul filled with pride.*

However those conversant with subtleties and those who dive into the sea of truths know that when Fortune shies, and shakes the load off its side, and turns the back of unkindness, a man can on no account expect that it will again show the cheek of fidelity; or that having sharpened the teeth of violence and treachery it will again place its tongue against the soft palate; or that once it has made off it can be captured again; or that having twisted the neck of pride it will consider the showing of kindness a sufficient encouragement; or that having knit in hostility the brow of enmity and perversity it will open its lips with the smile of conciliation. But when it has turned but a hair's breadth aside, though a man exert himself to the utmost to regain its favour and bring it back, it cannot be expected to wag its jaw in self-satisfaction again. And if it deviates but the width of a fingernail one cannot raise a finger to prevent it.

[5] *az Ābaskūn bi-shaṭṭ-i-ān āmadand.* Perhaps rather: 'land from [the Sea of] Abaskun'. See above, I, 155, n. 6.

[6] From a *qasida* by Abu-Bakr al-Khuwarizmi praising Shams-al-Ma'ali Qābūs b. Vashmgir. Quoted by Utbi. Another *bait* of this *qasida* has been quoted above, I, 342. (M.Q.)

If my soul turns away from something it will hardly
face it again until the end of time.[7]

And if sometimes, contrary to custom, it sprouts for a few days, like the verdure of the dunghill, it finally becomes '*dry stubble which the winds scatter*'.[8]

Nor was it concealed from the Sultan's discernment that to struggle with the contentious Heavens and to persevere against fickle Fate is [vain] toil and trouble; that the course of all events is predestined—'*there is no rejecting of His judgement and no* [130] *one to reverse His doom*'[9]—and that it is not in your hands or mine to restore our luck when it is gone, nay the world itself is a snare of calamity, a deceitful coquette.

Shun care, for worldly-wise men have found no shore
to the sea of the world.
Why shouldst thou blindly put thy trust in oppression and
chicane? For the affairs of this world are all oppression
and chicane.

Fortune and prosperity had completely deserted the House of Tekish, and the star of felicity, amid the calamities of adversity, had begun to turn and decline, and there could be no hope of arresting it. The secret of the mandate '*Thou givest power to whom Thou wilt*'[10] was written and revealed upon the brow of the empire of Chingiz-Khan and his posterity, just as the purport of '*Thou takest away the power from whom Thou wilt*'[10] was plain to read in the pages of the circumstances of his opponents, though it was beyond the powers of human imagination to peruse it. Nevertheless, the Sultan wished that the son might not like the father be chid by the tongues of men and struck with the arrows of reproach by the servants of God Almighty.

It is for me to seek glory where it abideth, and it will
not be my fault if what I seek escapeth me[11]

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[7] Ma'n b. 'Aus, a poet of the *Hamasa.* (M.Q.) [8] Koran, xviii, 43.

[9] Apparently an echo of Koran, xiii, 41: '*God pronounceth a doom, and there is none to reverse His doom.*' [10] Koran, iii, 25.

[11] It is very likely that this is a *bait* from the *qasida* by Abu-Bakr al-Khuwarizmi of which two *baits* have already been quoted on pp. 75 [342] and 129 [399]. [M.Q.]

With all this in mind Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, hearing that the Mongol army had passed by in the direction of Iraq, departed to Manqishlagh [12] and requisitioning the horses he found there dispatched messengers to Khorazm. He was accompanied by his brothers, Uzlaq-Sultan, [13] who was heir presumptive [131] to his father and Aq-Sultan.

Now of the chief emirs there were present in Khorazm * Buchi [14] Pahlavan, the maternal uncle of Uzlaq-Sultan, Küch-Ai Tegin, Oghul Hajib and Temür Malik [15] together with 90,000 Qanqli. And on account of his being favoured by Terken Khatun Sultan Muhammad had conferred the Sultanate and control of Khorazm upon Uzlaq-Sultan, who was a very young child and not quick in his studies.[16] When the Sultans arrived, opinions and feelings varied. Everyone inclined to a different party, and because of the weakness and impotence of Uzlaq-Sultan and the lack of agreement amongst the ministers every servant became a master and every oppressed person an oppressor. Some of the emirs who were greatest in power and authority but mounted on the steed of ignorance and stupidity were of opinion that they could achieve something [by themselves] but that if Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, who was the firmest pillar and the strongest party, became Sultan, each would have a rank and station assigned to him beyond which it would be impossible to advance a single step, and offices would be allotted [solely] in accordance with merit.

> [132] *An anklet for the foot, and a lofty crown for above the eyebrow, and a pearl necklace for the neck.*[17]

Most of his own following as well as the common people and

[12] The Mangyshlak Peninsula on the eastern shores of the Caspian.

[13] Reading AWZLAQ for the ARZLAQ of the text.

[14] The spelling of the name is uncertain. The text has BWH following A, in which however the reading may be BWHY, i.e. BWJY. A similar form occurs in the MS. of Nasawi. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 18, n. 2.

[15] On Temür Malik see above, i, 91–5.

[16] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 93–4), Sultan Muhammad, shortly before his death, had deprived Uzlaq-Sultan of the title of heir-presumptive and conferred it upon Jalal-ad-Din.

[17] From a *qasida* by Abul-'Ala al-Ma'arri in his *Saqt-az-Zand*. (M.Q.)

the majority of the higher classes favoured the Sultan, and the more intelligent courtiers, who with the passage of time had tasted the sweetness and bitterness of life and experienced the pleasure and pain thereof, were eager to serve him and came forward to offer their allegiance. Moreover firm covenants and binding agreements had been made between the brothers. Nevertheless, the hostile emirs laid their plans to destroy Jalal-ad-Din by a sudden trick. One of their number [18] informed him of their plot, and when he realized that at such a time the people were thinking only of strife and rebellion, not of concord and unity, he bestirred himself to find an opportunity [of escape] giving up all hope of the throne and castle of Khorazm. Like a man [19] he set out for Shadyakh by way of Nisa. Upon reaching Ustuva he collided with the Tartar army on the Hill of Shayaqan. For a long while he fought that host with his tiny force and opposed them with constantly repeated assaults in circumstances in which the son of Zal could only have trodden the road of retreat. Finally, when the world [133] donned a pitch-black veil—

> The captain gave his dragon rein and with dust removed
> light from the world—[20]

and at the time of '*no time it was of escape*' [21] he got free of that people.

And in the very hour of the Sultan's leaving Khorazm they [22] received news that troops were massing against them and not having the wherewithal to make a stand they hastened off in the Sultan's trail. The next day in the same area they came face to face with those who had fought and striven with Sultan Jalal-ad-Din. And when Aq-Sultan, who was in attendance on Uzlaq-Sultan, and the chief khans beheld the Tartar host,

[18] Oghul Hajib, according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 96). See also i, 158, n. 17.

[19] The phrase is introduced for the sake of the word-play with Nisā = *nisā* 'women'.

[20] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 451, l. 302. For *gard* 'dust' Vullers has *khashm* 'anger'.

[21] Koran, xxxviii, 2.

[22] I.e. Uzlaq-Sultan, Aq-Sultan and their following. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 103–6.

they fled like stars when the sun unsheathes his blades, all of them turning their faces from battle upon the first charge and showing their heels without having stretched out their hands to combat. And the Sultans of the age became prisoners in the hands of Tartar devils, and their chief men and most of their followers were food for the edge [23] of the flashing sword and the prey of wolves and hyenas. And after for two days enduring the ignominy of captivity the Sultans paid the penalty for all that their father had done to the royal houses and ancient families, being buried beneath the earth, nay deposited in the bellies of beasts of prey and eaters of carrion.[24] '*And judgement is with God, the Lord of the Worlds.*'

> If a whirlwind springs up from a corner and knocks an unripe orange to the ground,
> Do we call it tyrannous or just? do we call it virtuous or wicked? [25]

Meanwhile Sultan Jalal-ad-Din having arrived in Shadyakh, was employed for two or three days in preparing for departure whenever an opportunity presented itself. Finally one midnight when

> There was no sound of bird and no cry of beast, and the world had silenced its tongue for good or ill—[26]

he suddenly, like a shooting star, leapt upon the mount of trust in God and on the 15th of Zul-Hijja, 617 [10th of February, 1221], set out for Ghaznin which had been assigned to him by his father. [134] Between his departure and the arrival of the Mongol army there was an interval of no more than an hour. Learning that the Sultan had vacated the town they at once took up his trail and came to a place where the road forked. Here the Sultan had left the *malik* Il-Direk [27] with a body of men to

[23] There is a pun in the original, *zubāb* meaning both 'edge' and 'fly'.

[24] Nasawi's account (*loc. cit.*) is quite different. Far from being captured in flight the two princes had fallen in battle; and the Mongols had then cut off their heads, which they had fastened to the ends of lances and paraded throughout the country in order to strike terror into the hearts of the population.

[25] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 433, ll. 3–4.

[26] *Ibid.*, 1065, l. 13.

[27] AYLDRK. On the title *direk* see above, i, 309, n. 83. C and D have AYLDKZ, i.e. Ildegiz.

offer resistance for a while until there was some distance between him and the enemy. After some while, being no longer able to hold them, Il-Direk withdrew and made off by another route than that taken by the Sultan; and the Tartars followed in his pursuit thinking the Sultan also had gone that way. The latter, meanwhile, proceeding by another route, traversed 40 parasangs in a single stage, although the steed of his ambition was lame; and the Mongol army desisted from their pursuit and turned aside from the road he was following. Arriving before Zuzan he wished to enter the town in order to rest his horses a little, but the inhabitants disputed with him and would not even agree to his taking refuge inside the ramparts, a request which he made so that should the Mongol army arrive he might offer resistance for a while without their being able to approach him at once from the front and from the rear. 'If,' they said, 'the Mongol army arrives, they will assail thee with sword and arrow from that direction whilst we shall attack thee with stones from behind, on this side.' It was just like the story of Khidr in the Glorious Koran: '*(They went on) till they came to the people of a city. Of this people they asked food, but they refused them for guests.*'[28] In short, finding the smoke-hole of treachery open in the hospitable houses of the faithful nobles of Zuzan, he proceeded to Mabizhanabad[29] which he left at midnight. At daybreak the Mongols[30] [135] arrived and continued [in his pursuit] as far as Barduya, which is a dependency of Herat, when they turned back.

The Sultan proceeded on his way and came to Ghaznin. Amin Malik,[31] who was stationed there with an army of 50,000 men, came out to greet him; and everybody, both the soldiers

[28] Koran, xviii, 76.

[29] MABYŽNABAD. M.Q. quotes two instances of a form MABŽNABAD in a collection of documents of the Timurid period. This latter place appears to have been in the vicinity of Khaf and is therefore almost certainly identical with Juvaini's Mābīzhanābād.

[30] Here the text has *Moghal* (MWΓAL) for the usual *Moghol* (MΓWL). *Moghal* (cf. the Moal of Carpini and Rubruck) or *Moghol* was the Turkish form of the name, the native form being *Mongghol.*

[31] See below, p. 460, n. 1.

and the local population, rejoiced at his coming and were heartened by his presence. The Sultan married Amin Malik's daughter and passed that winter in Ghaznin in the Maidan-i-Sabz. The news of his arrival being spread abroad, bands of soldiers and tribesmen approached from every side '*arriving by every deep defile*'.[32] Saif-ad-Din Ighraq attached himself to the Sultan with 40,000 valiant warriors, and the emirs of Ghur likewise joined him from every direction.

From every side an army gathered about him, for he was
at once of noble birth and a [mighty] swordsman.[33]

His condition was now one of glory and splendour and he had a numerous army and following at his command. Accordingly, in the first days of spring when [136] the flowers began to bloom, he issued forth from Ghaznin and proceeded in the direction of Parvan.[34] Upon encamping there he received a report that Tekechük and Molghor[35] with an army of Mongols were laying siege to the castle of Valiyan[36] and were on the point of capturing it. Leaving his heavy baggage at Parvan the Sultan led his army in an attack on Tekechük and Molghor. He slew a thousand men of the Tartar vanguard; and his army being larger in numbers, the Mongols withdrew across the river,[37] destroying the bridge, and encamped upon the other side. The river thus formed a barrier between the two armies, and they [simply] discharged arrows at one another till nightfall. Then at midnight the Mongol army retreated, and the Sultan also retired, and having brought a great quantity of stores thither, he now took these from his treasury and distributed them amongst the troops. Then he returned to Parvan.

[32] Koran, xxii, 28. [33] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 445, l. 201.

[34] To the north-east of Charikar at the confluence of the Ghorband and the Panjshir. According to Raverty, 288, 1021 and 1042, the battle between Jalal-ad-Din and the Mongols was fought at another place of the same name between Ghazni and Bamiyan, near the sources of the Logar. See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 348.

[35] MLΓWR. Perhaps identical with the Mular of Kirakos and Grigor and the Molar of Vardan, but see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 424.

[36] The Walian Kotal to the north of Charikar.

[37] 'Probably the Panjshir.' (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 442.)

When news of this reached the ear of Chingiz-Khan and he learnt how the Sultan had mended his affairs and restored them to order—

> Tidings came to Afrasiyab that Suhrab had cast a
> boat upon the water.[38]
> From the army there were chosen many horsemen,
> veterans in war—

[137] he dispatched Shigi-Qutuqu[39] with 30,000 men. A week after the Sultan's arrival in Parvan the Mongol army appeared in the middle of the morning. The Sultan at once mounted horse, advanced to the distance of one parasang and drew up his army, confiding the right wing to Amin Malik and the left to Saif-ad-Din Malik Ighraq, whilst he himself took up his position in the centre. He commanded the whole army to dismount whilst keeping hold of their horses and to fight like desperate men. And since the numbers of the right wing, which had been entrusted to Amin Malik were greater than those of the Mongol army, 10,000 horsemen, all valiant warriors, attacked it and forced it back. Repeated reinforcements were sent from the centre and the left wing until they drove the Mongol army back to their base. In all these charges many were killed on either side, there was much hand-to-hand fighting and unending recourse to both guile and force, and none would show his back to the foe. Finally, when the bowl of the horizon was red with the blood of the sunset glow, either side encamped at its base; and the Mongols ordered every horseman to set up an image on his spare horse.[40] The next day, when the swordsman of the sky had brought down his blade upon the skull of night, both sides drew up their forces, and the Sultan's army seeing another rank behind the Mongol army thought that reinforcements had

[38] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 445, l. 208. The following line is not in Vullers. On the comparison of Chingiz-Khan to Afrasiyab see above, i, xxxii.

[39] See above, I, 135, n. 8.

[40] This practice is noticed by Carpini: '. . . et faciunt aliquando ymagines hominum et ponunt super equos. Hoc ideo faciunt ut multitudo magna bellancium esse credatur.' (Wyngaert, 82.) According to the translation by Haenisch the same tactics would appear to have been used against the Naiman in 1204 (*Secret History*, § 193), but see Cleaves' review of this translation, 528–9.

arrived. They were alarmed and consulted together as to whether they should take to flight and seek refuge in the *Basta [41] and Tirah [42] mountains. But the Sultan would not countenance this [138] and rejected their corrupt counsels in accordance with the verse:

> *And what I say [to my soul], whenever it wavers*
> *or is disturbed, is: 'Stay as thou art, thou wilt*
> *be praised or thou wilt find rest.'* [43]

And again on the next day they dismounted, and the Mongol army, having experienced the fury and the great numbers of Ighraq's troops, selected their *bahadurs* and attacked the left wing. Ighraq's men stood firm and let fly *(ighrāq)* with their bows; and by attacking with arrows held the Mongols in check. And when the latter withdrew before that attack and made for their base, the Sultan commanded the drums to be beaten, and the whole army mounted horse and made a general charge, putting the Mongol army to flight. In the midst of their flight, however, they turned round a second time and charged down upon the Sultan's army, striking nearly 500 warriors to the ground. At this very juncture the Sultan rode up like a lion of the meadow or a leviathan of the raging sea, and the Mongols were routed; the two *noyans* [44] departing with a small body of men to wait upon Chingiz-Khan and the Sultan's army busying themselves with plunder.

While they were thus occupied a dispute arose between Amin ad-Din [139] Malik and Saif-ad-Din Malik Ighraq about a horse. Amin-ad-Din Malik struck Malik Ighraq on the head with a whip, and the Sultan exacted no punishment for this act

[41] So in the text, BSTH = *basta* 'bound', 'closed'. E has PŠTH = *pushta* 'hill'.

[42] *Tīrāhī.* On the mountainous region of Tirah in the North-West Frontier Province see the *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* XXIII, 388-90. Ibn-al-Athir, XII, 38, reports, *sub anno* 602/1205-6, a revolt of the Tirahis against Shihab-ad-Din of Ghur.

[43] 'Amr b. al-Itnaba al-Khazraji. See the *Kāmil* of Mubarrad, Leipzig ed., 753. (M.Q.)

[44] By the two *noyans* are presumably meant Tekechük and Molghor, Shigi-Qutuqu, the commander of the army, being passed over in silence.

for he was not confident that the Qanqli troops would submit to punishment. Saif-ad-Din remained where he was all day but when night fell he made off like Jabala son of Aiham [45] and hastened to the mountains of Karman and Sanquran.[46]

After professing the Truth I became a Christian
because of the disgrace of a blow, in which there
would have been no harm had I endured it patiently.[47]

All that befell Ighraq afterwards will be set forth in a separate chapter.[48]

The Sultan's strength was broken by his defection and the highway of honour and success closed to him. He made for Ghaznin with the intention of crossing the Indus, and Chingiz-Khan, who by that time had finished dealing with Talaqan, learning of the dispersal of the Sultan's forces, went forth to defeat him and exact vengeance, like flashing lightning or a torrential flood, his heart filled with rage and leading an army more numerous than the raindrops. When the Sultan received tidings of him and heard the report of his advance against him with so great an army that it was impossible to oppose that vengeful host and confront the Emperor of the Earth—

For that king is a male dragon panting for vengeance,
a cloud of calamity.

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[45] The last of the Arab kings of Ghassān. He had become a Moslem but afterwards reverted to Christianity. 'The occasion of his turning Christian was this: In passing through the bazaar of Damascus he let his horse tread upon one of the bystanders, who sprang up and struck Jabala a blow on the face. The Ghassánís seized the fellow and brought him before Abú 'Ubayda b. al-Jarráh, complaining that he had struck their master. Abú 'Ubayda demanded proof. "What use wilt thou make of the proof?" said Jabala. He answered: "If he has struck thee, thou wilt strike him a blow in return." "And shall not he be slain?" "No." "Shall not his hand be cut off?" "No," said Abú 'Ubayda; "God has ordained retaliation only—blow for blow." Then Jabala went forth and betook himself to Roman territory and became a Christian; and he stayed there all the rest of his life.' (Ibn-Qutaiba tr. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 51.)

[46] See above, i, 136, n. 10.

[47] From the famous verses recited by Jabala b. al-Aiham after he had become a Christian. (M.Q.) See above, n. 45.

[48] See below, Chapter XXI.

A mountain of hard rock becomes like a sea of water if
it hears the name of Afrasiyab—[49]

he prepared to cross the Indus and ordered boats to be got ready. [140] Orkhan,[50] who was in the rear-guard, took up a stand against the vanguard of the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan, but he was defeated and withdrew to join the Sultan.

And when Chingiz-Khan learnt of the Sultan's purpose he hastened forward and overtook him; and his armies hemmed him in before and behind. The next morning when the light of day sprouted upon the cheek of night and the milk of the dawn gushed forth from the breast of the horizon, the Sultan was left between water and fire—on one side the water of the Indus and on the other an army like consuming fire, nay on the one side he had his heart in the fire and on the other his face towards the water. Nevertheless he did not lose heart but quit himself like a man, preparing for action and kindling the fire of war and battle. And when that lion through donning the garb of combat had become like a panther crouching in readiness to strike off the veil of opponents, he saddled the horse of vengeance and chose to plunge into the fray. The victorious army of the Lord of the Seven Climes attacked the right wing which was commanded by Amin Malik: they were driven back and most of them killed. Amin Malik took to flight and struck out for Peshawar hoping to save his life by the fleetness of his mount. But the Mongols had blocked the roads [141] and he was killed

[49] For the first line see *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 301, l. 35. For 'king' Vullers has 'Turk' and the second half of the line reads: 'panting, and in [exacting] vengeance a cloud of calamity'. The second line is not in Vullers. It occurs however in Macan with 'iron' instead of 'hard rock'. Note again the identification of Chingiz-Khan with Afrasiyab.

[50] AWRXAN. According to Kirakos, 119, he was Jalal-ad-Din's step-father. Both Kirakos, 119, and Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 220) speak of his assassination by the Isma'ilis at Ganja (the later Elizavetpol, now Kirovabad in Soviet Azerbaijan), and according to Nasawi this took place upon the Sultan's return to that town, i.e. apparently in 1226 (*ibid.*, 211); and yet Nasawi, *ibid.*, 406, like Juvaini, ii, 456, recounts how Orkhan roused his master from his drunken sleep to make the final dash before the oncoming Mongols which ended in his death at the hands of a Kurdish mountaineer. This was in 1231; and Nasawi adds, *ibid.*, 406–7, that Orkhan then entered Irbil and afterwards approached and captured Isfahan. Perhaps there were two persons of this name

while on his way. The left wing was pushed back also, but the Sultan stood firm in the centre with a body of 700 men and resisted from dawn till noon, charging from left to right and from the left attacking the centre; and with each attack he felled several persons. But the army of Chingiz-Khan continued to advance and their numbers increased hourly, so as to leave the Sultan less and less space to manoeuvre. Seeing that the situation was desperate, with a moist eye and a dry lip he ceased to care for fame and reputation. Akhash[51] Malik, the Sultan's cousin on his mother's side, seized his bridle and drew him back. With a burning heart and a weeping eye the Sultan bade farewell to his children and with the boast:

When a man does not resort to trickery, even after exerting every effort, he ruins his cause, and deals harshly with it, and is unfortunate.
But the man of determination on whom misfortune does not descend without his having some plan in view—
He is the hero of his age, as long as he lives, sagacious, and if one nostril is closed the other is in motion—[52]

he ordered his led horse to be brought up and mounting it again charged leviathan-like into the sea of calamity. Then, having forced back the Mongol army he turned rein and discarding his cuirass whipped his mount and caused it to leap into the water from a distance of ten ells or more.

[142] *I stretched out my breast towards it, and my broad back and slender waist glided with it over the rocks.*[52]

And crossing the great river like a fiery lion he reached the shore of safety.

And it touched the level ground without a single scratch from the rocks, while Death looked on abashed.[52]

[51] Reading AXAŠ for the AJAŠ of the text. Nasawi ed. Houdas has AXŠ (138 and 186) for which the MS. has AHŠ. Cf. the name Aqash in Radloff and Malov, *Uigburische Sprachdenkmäler,* also the AQŠ of Nasawi (*ibid.,* 152), although this could be read Aq-Qush 'White Bird' like the ĀQWŠ of Houtsma, *Glossar,* 32. Akhash Malik, according to Nasawi tr. Houdas, 229 and 309, was killed in the Battle of Isfahan.

[52] All these lines are from a famous *qasida* by the pre-Islamic poet Ta'abbata Sharran. (M.Q.)

Seeing him swimming across Chingiz-Khan rode down to the edge of the water. The Mongols made to cast themselves in [after him] but he prevented them. They bent their bows, and some who were eye-witnesses have related that so many were killed in the water that as far as their arrows reached the river was red with blood. As for the Sultan, he emerged from the water with a sword, a lance and a shield.

> *And I returned to Fahm, though I had not expected to*
> *return—and how often have I escaped from the like*
> *of them while they whistled [impotently]!* [52]

And the heavens exclaimed in wonder:

> No one has seen the like of this man in the world
> nor heard of his like from the worthies of yore.[53]

Chingiz-Khan and all the Mongols put their hands to their mouths in astonishment, and Chingiz-Khan, after witnessing that feat, turned to his sons and said: 'Such sons should a father have! Having escaped the two whirlpools of water and fire and reached the shore of safety, he will be the author of countless exploits and troubles without number. How can a wise man [143] fail to take him into account?'

> In the world he has no equal save the wise and
> illustrious son of Zal.
> In bravery he goes beyond the heavens, he does not
> hold himself light.[54]

[XV]

OF HIS ADVENTURES IN INDIA

WHEN the Sultan had escaped from the twin dangers of water and fire, that is the flood of the Indus and the flame of the fury

[53] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1650, l. 2705, where the reference is to Rustam.

[54] *Ibid.*, 1637, ll. 2494 and 2496. For *na-dārad* 'he has not' Vullers has *na-dārī* 'thou hast not', which is correct, for Gushtasp is addressing his son Isfandiyar. I read *pur-khirad* 'wise' with C for the *bī-khirad* 'foolish' of the text (which has however the support of the best MSS. and is also in Mohl). D and G, like Vullers, have *pur-hunar* 'virtuous'. The second line agrees exactly with Mohl but Vullers has *hamān* 'the same' instead of the particle *hamī* in the first half.

of Chingiz-Khan, he was joined by five or six of his guards *(mufradān)*,[1] whom Fate had not destroyed nor the blast from the flames of tribulation and calamity confided to the dust of annihilation. They could think of no plan but to conceal themselves in the forest, and they remained thus hidden for a day or two, by the end of which some fifty had joined him. Scouts who had gone out to spy the land now returned with the news that a band of Indian scoundrels (*runūd*), both horse and foot, were engaged in wanton destruction and debauchery *(bi-ʿaiṣ u fujūr mashghūl)* [2] two parasangs away from the Sultan's camp. He ordered his companions each to cut himself a cudgel and to fall upon these people by night. They killed the greater part of them and carried off their animals and arms.

Another body of men now joined the Sultan, some on horseback and some mounted on oxen *(dirāz-dunbāl)*. They brought news that Indian troops to the number of two or three thousand men were in the vicinity. The Sultan attacked them with 120 men and thrust his Indian blade through many of these Indians; and with the booty thus gained he re-equipped his forces.

[144] *And whoever is poor among us lives by his sword,*
but whoever is poor among the rest of mankind
goes a-begging.
And we play with swords as a maiden plays with a
necklace or a garland of gilly-flowers.

As the news of the Sultan's strength and his recovery from defeat spread through India, troops gathered together from the mountains of Balala [3] and Nikala [4] and about five or six thousand horse attacked him. On hearing news of their approach he set

[1] *mufrad* appears to be synonymous with *ghulām* (on which see above, i, 289, n. 36). Thus one of the officers who deserted Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din to enter the service of Malik Nusrat is referred to as a *mufrad* by Juvaini (ii, 470), whereas Nasawi (ed. Houdas, 142) calls these officers *ghulāms* (*ghilmān*).

[2] Perhaps a reference to some Hindu ritual.

[3] BLALH.

[4] Reading NKALH with E (with C, E and G in II, 145) for the RKALH of the text. Raverty, 294*n*, adopts the spelling Nikālah; Elliot and Dowson, II, 553*n*, say that the name may be spelt either Bankāla or Mankāla. According to the *Ta'rikh-i-Alfi* Balāla and Nikāla were in the vicinity of Lahore. (*Ibid*.)

out against them with the 500 horsemen at his disposal and joining battle scattered and annihilated those Indian forces. And from every side isolated individual forces turned towards the Sultan until about three or four thousand men had joined his service.

The news that he was gathering forces together reached the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan, who at that time was in the region of Ghaznin; and he dispatched an army to put an end to him. When the Mongol army, which was led by Törbei Toqshin,[5] had crossed the river, the Sultan, not being strong enough to oppose them, set out in the direction of Delhi. The Mongols, for their part, upon hearing the news of his flight, turned back and laid waste the district of Malikfur.[6]

Meanwhile, the Sultan, having arrived within two or three days' journey from Delhi, sent a man whom he had given the title of 'Ain-al-Mulk with a message to Sultan Shams-ad-Din,[7] in accordance with the saying that '*the noble have a place for the noble*'. [145] 'The vicissitudes of fortune,' his message ran, 'have established my right to approach thy presence, and guests of my sort arrive but rarely. If, therefore, the drinking-place of friendship be purified upon either side and the cups of fraternity filled to the brim (? *muvaffā*), and we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weal and woe, then shall all our aims and objects be attained; and when our opponents realize the concord that exists between us, the teeth of their resistance will be blunted.' And he requested that a place might be assigned to him in which he could remain for a few days.

Now the valour and bravery of the Sultan were famous everywhere and his great might and prowess were the talk of the whole world. When, therefore, Sultan Shams-ad-Din heard his message he brooded over the matter for several days, considering

[5] See above, i, 141, and n. 1.

[6] According to Raverty, 537*n*, there is in the Rawalpindi district 'a Malikpūr, in ancient times, the residence of the provincial governors, which lies in the direct line of route from the NANDANAH district on the Jhilam to the locality in which Chingiz Khan had pitched his camp . . .' It is not however mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

[7] I.e. Il-Tutmish.

the evil consequences thereof and fearing lest the Sultan might gain an ascendancy over him and involve him in ruin. It was said that an attack was made on ʿAin-al-Mulk in Delhi and he was killed. In any case Sultan Shams-ad-Din sent a messenger with offerings of food worthy of such a guest, but excused himself from providing a place of abode on the grounds that nowhere in that region was there a suitable climate nor any locality such as would be fit for a king. If the Sultan agreed he would assign him a place in the region of Delhi and would hand that area over to him as soon as he had cleared it of rebels.

When this message reached the Sultan he turned back and went to the region of Balala and Nikala. Here refugees from the various armies gathered round him from all sides and having escaped in small bodies from beneath the sword joined themselves to the Sultan, until the total of his followers amounted to 10,000 men.

He now sent Taj-ad-Din Malik Khalaj with an army to the Mountains of Jud:[8] they ravaged the country and carried off much booty.

He also sent to Rai Kokar Sankin [9] and sought his daughter in marriage. He agreed and likewise sent his son to [146] the Sultan with an army. The Sultan conferred upon the son the title of *qutlugh-khan*.

Now Qubacha was an emir who held sway over the provinces of the Indus and breathed the breath of Sultanhood, and there was enmity between him and Rai Kokar Sankin. The Sultan sent an army against him under the command of Öz-Beg Tai.[10] On the bank of the Indus, one parasang from Ucha, Qubacha had an encampment with 20,000 men. Öz-Beg Tai made a surprise attack on him by night with a force 7,000 strong. Qubacha's army was routed and dispersed and he himself escaped by boat to Akar and Bakar,[11] which are two fortresses

[8] I.e. the Salt Range.

[9] Rāi Kōkār is the man's title: 'Raja of the Khokars.' The spelling of his name (SNKYN) is uncertain. See Elliot-Dowson, II, 396, n. 1.

[10] See above, i, 357, n. 15.

[11] '. . . Altogether I make little doubt that the famous island-fort of Bhakkar is the one indicated. Bhakkar indeed does comprise two islands. But, when

on an island. Öz-Beg Tai entered his encampment and took prisoner all whom he found there. He sent the good news to the Sultan, who set out [to join him] and dismounted in that encampment before the pavilion that had been pitched for Qubacha. The latter, meanwhile, fled from Akar and Bakar [147] to Multan. The Sultan sent an envoy to demand the return of the son and daughter of Amir Khan,[12] who fleeing from the battle of the Indus had fallen into Qubacha's hands; he also asked him for money. Qubacha obeyed his command and sent the son and daughter of Amir Khan to him with a large sum of money, at the same time requesting that his territory might not be molested.

When the weather became hot the Sultan left Ucha for summer quarters in the Mountains of Jud and Balala and Nikala. On the way he laid siege to the castle of Parasravar[13] and engaged in a battle in which he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. The castle was taken and everyone in it put to death.

Here news reached him of the Mongol forces in his pursuit. He turned back and as he passed by Multan sent an envoy to Qubacha to notify him of his passage and ask for 'shoe-money.'[14] Qubacha refused and rising against the Sultan came out to do battle. After a hour's skirmishing the Sultan would remain no longer but departed for Ucha. The people of Ucha rose in rebellion, and the Sultan halted there for two days and having

instituting inquiries on the spot I could not find that the small island lying to the north was ever called "Akar". It now goes by the name of the shrine on it. But that it might once have been called so is not improbable, as the tendency to the reduplication of the name of Bhakkar is even now shown by its being rarely mentioned, except when coupled with the name of one of the towns lying on either side of it—as "Barā-Bhakkar", "Sakkar Bhakkar".' (Elliot-Dowson, II, 554*n*.)

[12] As M.Q. points out in a footnote to the text this must be a copyist's error for Amin Khan, i.e. Amin Malik, on whom see, above, pp. 409–10, also below, Chapter XXI.

[13] Parasrāvar appears to be a variant form of Parasrūr, now Pasrur in the Sialkot district of the Punjab.

[14] *na'l-bahā*: 'a tribute which a king exacted from the ruler of a place in passing by, being the price of the shoes of the horse on which he was riding at the time.' (M.Q.)

set fire to the city departed in the direction of Sadusan,[15] [148] of which Fakhr-ad-Din Salari was governor on behalf of Qubacha, his army commander being Lachin the Khitayan.[16] This latter attacked Orkhan, who was in charge of the Sultan's vanguard, and was killed. Orkhan then laid siege to the town of Sadusan, and when the Sultan arrived Fakhr-ad-Din Salari presented himself humbly before him with a sword and a shroud. The Sultan entered the town and remained there for a month. He gave presents to Fakhr-ad-Din Salari and conferred the governorship of Sadusan upon him. He then advanced against Deval[17] and Damrila,[18] and Chatisar,[19] the ruler of that province, fled before him and put to sea in a boat. The Sultan encamped near Deval and Damrila and sent Khass-Khan with an army to make an attack on Nahrwala,[20] from whence they

[15] Reading SADWSAN for the SADWSTAN of the text. Sadusan is often mentioned in the Arab geographers. It must have lain near the Indus, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sahwan, but the Indus has changed its course. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 190–5, comes to no definite conclusions on Sadusan: 'Über die wirkliche Lage von Sādūsān können wir also heraus nichts lernen.' (V.M.)

[16] I.e. the Qara-Khitayan.

[17] DYWL. The usual form of the name was Dēbul (Daybul). At the time of the Arab geographers Debul was 'a fine harbour at the principal mouth of the Indus'. Its ruins now lie far inland to the south-west of Tatta. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331 and n. 1, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 372.

[18] 'Damrilah is one of the puzzles of Sind record. Like Bakhar, it does not appear till the thirteenth century. It then invariably appears coupled with Debal; so coupled it is mentioned by the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, the *Jahan Kusha* and the *Jami-ut-Tawarikh* of Rashiduddin; when Tatha first appears in Barni's account of the Emperor Muhammad Shah's pursuit of the rebel Taghi into Sind, it is equally strangely coupled with Tatha. I know of no instance of its mention alone by any writer of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh* of Badaoni writes of the conquest of Damrilah by the eldest son of the Sultan Ghiyasuddin. Major Raverty in one passage identifies it with the ruins found by Ibn Batuta near Lohari, an identification made impossible by the later mention of Damrilah in the account of Taghi's rebellion; elsewhere he places it near Shakhrpur in the Shahbandar sub-division, where local traditions certainly still point to the debris of the residences of Sumrah chiefs, among them of Chanisar [Chatisar], whose name history and legend alike associates [sic] with Debal.' (Abbott, *Sind*, 53*n*.)

[19] Reading ČTYSR for the XNYSR of the text. Malik Sinān-ad-Din Chatisar was the 'eleventh of the Sūmra line, a Rājput dynasty the later members of which accepted Islam'. See Haig, *Turks and Afghans*, 54.

[20] Nahrwāla or Anhalwāra was the capital of Gujerat. Its site is now occupied by the town of Pātan in Northern Baroda.

brought many camels. The Sultan built a Friday mosque in Deval on the site of an idol temple.

Meanwhile [149] news came from Iraq that Sultan Ghiyas-ad Din had established himself there, but that the greater part of the army in that country were in favour of the Sultan and demanded his presence. News also came that Baraq [21] Hajib was in Kerman and had laid siege to Juvashir.[22] It was likewise reported that the Mongol army was approaching in pursuit of the Sultan, and he therefore departed from thence by way of Makran, numbers of his men perishing on account of the unhealthy climate.

When news that the Sultan's forces were approaching reached Baraq Hajib he sent out many offerings of food and sought to hearten the Sultan with expressions of joy and pleasure. When the latter arrived he begged him to accept the hand of his daughter. The Sultan agreed and went through the ceremony of marriage. The governor of the castle also came out and brought the Sultan the keys of the town *(ḥiṣār)*. He entered and there consummated his marriage; then after two or three days he mounted horse to go hunting and to look for forage. Baraq Hajib remained behind on the pretext that he was suffering from rheumatism *(dard-i-pā)*. In the words of the saying:

Thou pretendedst to limp because thou didst not wish to limp.

News was brought to the Sultan on the road of his holding back and feigning illness. He realized that this backwardness would engender mutiny and this delay beget rebellion before any one was aware. In order to test him he sent back one of the officers accompanying him with the message that he had decided to leave shortly for Iraq and that this plan had priority over all

[21] BRAQ. The spelling Burāq (Barthold, *Turkestan*) or Borāq (Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*) is due to the identity of the word in unvocalized Arabic script with Burāq, the name of the wondrous beast on which the Prophet Mohammed ascended into Heaven. In fact *baraq* is 'le nom turc d'un chien à longs poils plus ou moins fabuleux'. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 57. On Baraq Hajib, the first of the Qutlugh-Khans of Kerman, see below, Chapter XXV.

[22] Juvāshīr (Guvāshīr) or Bardasīr was the old name for the town, as distinct from the province, of Kerman.

other matters. Baraq Hajib should therefore present himself in the hunting grounds in order that the scheme might be discussed, for he was a man of experience and was particularly conversant with Iraq, so that his advice might promote the realization of this undertaking. Baraq [150] replied that he was prevented from attending on the Sultan and obliged to hold back from waiting upon him by reason of his rheumatism. It was however advisable that the Sultan should set out for Iraq as soon as possible since Juvashir was not fit to be his residence or to accommodate his retinue and following. However, that province must needs have a lieutenant or governor answerable to the Sultan, and there was no one better disposed or more suitable for this office than himself, who had grown grey in the Sultan's service and to whose previous services had been added more recent ones. Moreover he had conquered that kingdom with his own sword and acquired it by his own valour. He sent back the messenger and ordered the gates to be closed and such of the Sultan's men as had remained to be ejected.

Having neither a place of abode nor the means of revenge, the Sultan set out for Shiraz, sending an envoy to announce his arrival to the *atabeg* Sa'd. The latter sent out his son Salghur-Shah [23] with 500 horse to greet the Sultan. He excused himself from attending in person with the plea that he had once sworn a solemn oath, from which it was impossible to be released, that he would never go out to welcome anybody. The Sultan accepted his excuse and distinguished Salghur-Shah with every kind of honour, also conferring upon him the title of *qarindash-khan*.[24] When he reached the frontier of Shiraz [25] in the region of Pasa,[26] Sa'd sent him all manner of presents worthy of such a guest—wardrobes of ceremonial and everyday clothing, all sorts of goblets, purses stuffed with dinars, large numbers of horses, mules and camels, an arsenal and all the appurtenance of drinking and cooking, together with Turkish and Abyssinian slaves

[23] Usually Salghar-Shah. He was the father of Saljuq-Shah (1262–3), the penultimate ruler of this dynasty.

[24] I.e. 'Brother Khan'. I read QRNDAŠ, i.e. *qarīndash*, with B and D for the QRA ANDAŠ of the text.

[25] I.e. Fars.

[26] The usual spelling is Fasā.

for each capacity. He also expressed a desire to be connected with him by marriage, and a pearl which [151] had been reared in the shell of that noble house, in the bosom of chastity, hearkening to the lips of Wisdom and Modesty, was strung upon the Sultan's necklace.[27] When by this marriage the ropes of concord had been spliced together between the two parties and the foundations of agreement and friendship firmly laid, he remained a few days and then set out for Isfahan.

Now at that time the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr, whom God Almighty made heir to his father's kingdom and to those of other kings also, was confined by his father, like a pearl, in the shell of imprisonment because at the time of the latter's returning from Sultan Muhammad he had made war on his father and wounded him. The Sultan now asked for his release, and the *atabeg* replied: 'Although my son Abu-Bakr has neglected his duties and has been marked with the brand of disobedience (and he sent the caftan with the mark of the wound on it), nevertheless the Sultan's command must be obeyed as the body obeys the soul. After the Sultan has left, I will send him after him, with full equipment.' He kept his word and did in fact sent Abu-Bakr.

At the time of the Sultan's departure a slave belonging to 'Izz-ad-Din [152] Sökmez,[28] called Qilij, who had fled from Isfahan, arrived and was brought before the Sultan. He was a Turk, whose picture the Painter had copied from the reflection of the sun and whose beauty the Distributor of comeliness and

[27] The following is written in the margin of C in this place: 'Note by Muhammad Munajjim, who by gleaning after 'Ata-Malik Juvaini had the good fortune to ascertain the following: the name of the *atabeg's* daughter was Malika Khatun. She became the wife of the Rustam-hearted Jalal-ad-Din, son of Muhammad Khorazm-Shah, and he remained here for two and a half months. When he went to Isfahan Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr was equipped by his father and went to join him there. He remained in attendance on Sultan Jalal-ad-Din for 3 [? 6] years and the Sultan thought more highly of him than his own brother. Finally the *atabeg* Sa'd sent for him and made him his heir, and when he died in 627/1229-30 or 628/1230-1 [this must refer to the death of Jalal-ad-Din in 1231, not to that of Sa'd in 1226] Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr succeeded his father on the throne of Shiraz and was the best of the Salghurids.' (M.Q.)

[28] SKMAZ. The word may be read in several ways: *sökmez* means 'he who does not kneel' and also 'he who does not scold'.

grace had made equal with that of Joseph; while in the delicate bloom of his cheeks was also the flash of fire. The poet might well have been describing him in the following quatrain:

> Those who are unique in the belief of metempsychosis
> Watched thee as thou didst walk abroad yesterday
> And swore by one another's lives
> That this was Joseph the Handsome resurrected.

The Sultan showed honour to Qilij and took him into his service.

Upon arriving in Isfahan he received tidings that his brother Ghiyas-ad-Din was in Ray with the ministers and chief men of the army. Travelling light [he set out] with a few picked horsemen carrying banners of white cloth like the Mongol army; and before any one of them was aware he had swooped down upon them like a falcon upon a pigeon. Ghiyas-ad-Din and some of the army leaders dispersed in alarm. Out of kindness and pity the Sultan sent a message to Ghiyas-ad-Din and his mother. It was not right, he said, to conceal oneself from any kind of guest, and in any case now was no time for differences and no place for strife and disagreement. They should present themselves with ample hopes and easy minds and not abandon themselves to uncertainty and bewilderment. And when such of the army leaders as had hastened to present themselves to the Sultan had been received with honour, Ghiyas-ad-Din, seeing the inclination of men's natures and the attraction of their thoughts toward his brother, came with a burning heart to wait upon him accompanied only by a few followers of long standing. [153] The Sultan retained every man in the army in the rank he held and allotted a post to each of them. As for the local administrators *(aṣḥāb-i-aʿmāl)* he dispatched each of them upon appropriate business and issued the necessary edicts and mandates. And with the advent of the Sultan the various lands and territories saw the prospect of some degree of peace and stability.

Now the Secretary and Controller of the Realm was Nur-ad-Din Munshi,[29] and this Nur-ad-Din was constantly drinking.

[29] This was no other than the celebrated Nasawi, the secretary (*munshī*) and afterwards the biographer of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il the Isfahani with some of the *imams* of Isfahan called upon him one morning when he had not yet risen from his drunken slumbers. Kamal-ad-Din wrote the following quatrain and sent it in, and they went away:

> Your accomplishments combined with this fondness for wine
> Are like sublimity combined with baseness.
> Your condition resembles the eyes of the fair
> Because there light and languor [30] are always combined.

Nur-ad-Din Munshi has a *qasida* on the Sultan of which the following comes from the beginning:

> Come, my soul, for the world has again become sweet and pleasant because of the glory of the supreme Chosroes, the *ulugh-sultan*,[31] Jalal-ad-Din.

[XVI]

OF SULTAN JALAL-AD-DIN'S APPROACH TO BAGHDAD

In the beginning of the year 621/1224 he set out with the intention of proceeding to Tustar [1] and passing the winter there. He sent Elchi Pahlavan on in advance to reconnoitre with a body of 2,000 men, whilst he himself followed after; and as he passed by, Sulaiman-Shah [2] paid a visit to him and gave him his sister in marriage. Upon reaching Shabur-Khast [3] (which

[30] Nur-ad-Din means 'Light of the Faith' and the ordinary meaning of *masti* 'languor' is 'drunkenness'.

[31] I.e. 'the Great Sultan'. Perhaps the Sultan was so called by his Turkish followers.

[1] I.e. Shustar.

[2] This was Shihab-ad-Din Sulaiman-Shah, the ruler of the Ive Turcomans and the future defender of Baghdad against the Mongols. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 152, n. 2, also M.Q., III, 453-63. According to Nasawi the marriage took place when Jalal-ad-Din was returning from the Baghdad area and had encamped near Sulaiman-Shah's castle, i.e. the castle of Bahār near Hamadan. The circumstances were less scandalous than they appear in Houdas' translation (308-9), the lady being the sister, not the wife, of the 'seigneur de la citadelle', who was of course Sulaiman-Shah himself.

[3] Shābūr-Khwāst or Shāpūr-Khwāst is the later Khurramabad. See Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 383, also his article, *Luristān*, in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

used to be a great and famous city [154] of which mention is made in histories though only the ruins of it still remain) he remained there for a month, and the chiefs of the Lurs came to wait on him. When his horses had recovered their strength he set out for Baghdad expecting the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah to render him assistance and make of him a bulwark against the foe. He sent a messenger on in advance to announce his arrival and explain his intentions. But the Commander of the Faithful paid no attention to his words, for he still harboured resentment for what he had suffered at the hands of the Sultan's father and grandfather. Instead he deputed Qush-Temür, one of the slaves holding the rank of emir, together with an army of 20,000 valiant men and illustrious heroes to expel the Sultan from his territory; and at the same time carrier pigeons were dispatched to Irbil with the message that Muzaffar-ad-Din [4] should likewise send 10,000 men so that the Sultan might be caught between them. Qush-Temür, who was over-confident on account of the greatness of his own numbers and the smallness of the Sultan's resources, set out before the time appointed for the army from Irbil. When the Sultan drew near he sent someone to Qush-Temür with a message to the effect that the purpose of his coming was to seek refuge under the far-reaching shadow of the Commander of the Faithful, inasmuch as powerful foes had gained the victory and conquered the lands and peoples of Islam, and no army could withstand them. If he received assistance from the Caliph and had the encouragement of his approval, he was just the man to repel that people. However, Qush-Temür turned a deaf ear to this counsel and drew up his army in battle-order; and the Sultan for his part had no choice but to prepare to fight and resist. His own men being not a tenth part of Qush-Temür's army he placed a detachment in ambush, whilst he took up his stand with 500 horse. He made two or three assaults upon the centre and wings of the enemy [155] and then turned as though in flight. Qush-Temür's army thought they had been routed and set off in

[4] This was Muzaffar-ad-Din Kök-Böri ('Blue Wolf'), the last (1190-1232) of the Begteginids of Irbil. See Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 165.

pursuit. The men in hiding then fell upon them from behind, and the Sultan also turned and charged down upon them. They were put to flight, and the Sultan pursued them to the outskirts of Baghdad, when he turned back and struck out in the direction of Daquq,[5] kindling the fire of pillage and rapine in that area.

And the kindled fire that dies not in Takrit.[6]

While he was passing by, scouts reached him with the information that Muzaffar-ad-Din was coming up with the army of Irbil, that he had sent on some baggage in advance and that he intended to put his men in battle array and attack the Sultan from ambush. The latter ordered his heavy baggage to be moved as hitherto along the same route, whilst he himself with a band of valiant horsemen made his way around the mountains. As soon as he knew that the enemy's army had passed by he made an attack with his serpent-like warriors[7] and fell unexpectedly upon Muzaffar-ad-Din. And when the Sultan had him in his power, he observed the practice of pardon and forgiveness in view of the respect and honour due to rulers but would not allow him to proceed further in the direction in which he was going. Muzaffar-ad-Din was ashamed of his actions and asked to be pardoned, expressing his regret by saying that until that day he had been unaware of the Sultan's enlightened outlook and had had no knowledge of his courtesy and dignity. The Sultan in return spoke words befitting a monarch and praised and lauded him because during his reign the roads had been safe and disturbances in abeyance despite the presence among his subjects of Lurs and Kurds who deemed it lawful to shed the blood of pilgrims. [156] He likewise bestowed upon him all manner of presents and showed him every kind of favour; and at the command and by the leave of the Sultan he returned

[5] Daqūq or Daqūqā, the present-day Tauk.

[6] The first half of the *bait* is:

Tell the story of az-Zaura or Hit

It is the opening line of a *qasida* by Abul-'Ala al-Ma'arri in his *Saqt-az-Zand*. (M.Q.) az-Zaurā is Baghdad and Hīt was the name of a town on the Euphrates.

[7] Simply a pun on *shujā'*, which means both 'brave' and 'serpent'.

to the town and strove to please him by the rendering of countless services of every sort.

From that region the Sultan set out for Arran and Azerbaijan of which the ruler at that time was the *atabeg* Öz-Beg. Not being strong enough to oppose the Sultan he fled from Tabriz alone, leaving his wife Malika, the daughter of Sultan Toghril,[8] behind in the town—

And the stallion protects his female even when fettered.

When the Sultan arrived at the gates of Tabriz and laid siege to the town, the leaders of the *atabeg's* army, who were still there, offered strong resistance; but Malika herself, realizing that it was impossible to dislodge the Sultan and having moreover been deeply offended by the *atabeg*, sent privily to Jalal-ad-Din and told him of the secret hatred that she felt towards her husband. She also sent him the *fatwas* of the *imams* of Baghdad and Damascus to the effect that the three divorces that had been made conditional had now come into effect.[9] And a compact was made to the effect that the two sides should come to terms; that Malika should be permitted to go to Nakhchivan with her baggage; and that the Sultan should afterwards follow her thither and marry her. He sent a ring as a token.

Women and their covenants are as dust; the east wind
and their covenants are as one.

After two days had elapsed Malika sent for the emirs and the chief notables of the town and said: 'It is a great sultan who has sat down before the town, and the *atabeg* has not the strength to dislodge and repel him. If we do not come to terms with him and he storms the town, he will do the same as his father did in Samarqand. If it be judged advisable let us send the

[8] I.e. Toghril II (1177–94), the last of the Seljuqs of Iraq.

[9] I.e. the completion of the divorce had been made dependent upon something which had now taken place, as is explicitly stated by Ibn-al-Athir *sub anno* 622/1225–6 (XII, 284): '*And it was legal for him to marry her only because Öz-Beg was recorded as having sworn to divorce her if he killed a slave called . . . Then he killed him, and when the divorce came into effect by reason of the oath, Jalal-ad-Din married her.*' (M.Q.)

cadis [157] and notables to him and reach an agreement with him so that he may do no harm to the *atabeg's* harem or his dependants nor prevent them from going whithersoever they wish. And let us surrender the town to him. This is what my counsel dictates: it is for you, the ministers of the *atabeg,* to say what appears to you to be expedient.' They all exclaimed with one voice that Malika's advice was royal advice and her thought a wise one; and the chief cadi 'Izz-ad-Din of Qazvin, one of the most learned men of the age, was sent to the Sultan together with several of the chamberlains. They begged for pardon and forgiveness with the stipulation that he did not hinder Malika and the dependants of the *atabeg* from proceeding whithersoever they wished. The Sultan granted their petition and gave them leave to depart if they so desired.

The next day, when the hand of the sky drew the sword of the sun from the scabbard of the horizon, the *atabeg's* chief officers and emirs and the principal men of the town presented themselves all at once at the Sultan's audience-place bearing all manner of gifts and offerings. They kissed the carpet over which the sky served as a parasol and observed upon the Sultan's brow the indications of gaiety, cheerfulness and a generous disposition—

The brightness of his countenance informs thee of
his gaiety.

Malika for her part followed the bidding of her nature [10] and departed for Khoi; and the Sultan, in the year 622/1225, entered the town in triumph and was received with congratulations by the people. He remained there a few days and then left for Nakhchivan, where, in accordance with the *fatwas* of the *imams,* he took possession of Malika and trod the path of the *atabeg.*

At that time this latter was in the castle of Alinja.[11] Learning of the Sultan's arrival in Nakhchivan he realized what his

[10] *khūi* or *khōi.* Juvaini can never resist a pun on a place-name.

[11] 'La rivière Alinǰa-čai se jette dans l'Araxe à l'est de Nahičevan. Près de son embouchure était située l'ancienne ville J̌ulfa. La forteresse Alinǰa s'élevait sur la hauteur inaccessible de sa rive droite près du village actuel Ḫanaga. . . .' (Minorsky, *Transcaucasica,* 93.)

purpose was. An internal pain, which was irremediable, was aggravated by this external cause, and on that very day, out of grief and chagrin, he delivered up the ghost.

> My soul resolved to depart. I said, 'Go not.' 'What
> can I do?' it said, 'the house is coming down.'

Now in justice, the fruit of unlawful actions, especially those which affect the family and the harem, is in all codes regarded as blameworthy, and the like unseemly conduct and reprehensible behaviour arouse nothing but feelings of disgust in the minds of men; *and the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) has truly said: 'Everything is easy except women, and the mention of them.'* [12]

[XVII]

OF JALAL-AD-DIN AND THE GEORGIANS AND THE EXTIRPATION OF THAT PEOPLE

WHEN Fortune, in her wonted manner, had caused the downfall of the *atabeg's* power and transferred his kingdom into the hands of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din and when, moreover, followers and henchmen had turned their faces towards him from every side, those lewd unbelievers, the Georgians, were seized with a desire to possess themselves of the country *(vilāyat)*, wishing in the first place to drive out the Sultan and capture the kingdom of Tabriz and then to proceed to Baghdad to set up the Catholicos in place of the Caliph and turn mosques into churches and the truth into falsehood. Filled with this vain desire and with arrogant folly and relying upon the prowess of their men and the sharpness of their lances and sabres, they gathered their forces; and having mustered more than 30,000 men they sallied forth.

> *The truth shineth forth and the swords are bared:*
> *beware of the lions of the thicket, beware!* [1]

When news hereof reached the Sultan, his forces were still but

[12] As M.Q. points out, this is not a *hadith* but simply a proverbial saying.
[1] This line has already been quoted, i, 52.

few nor had he yet recovered from the confusion of his affairs. [159] Nevertheless, without reflection or hesitation, he advanced against the Georgians with such troops as he had. At the time when the light of morning was dispelling the darkness of night he reached their camp in the valley of Garni,[2] where they lay drunk with wine and sunk in debauchery.

> *O thou who sleepest happily at the beginning of the night, it may be that calamities will overtake thee by dawn.*

Before they could raise their hands in battle he advanced and gained a great victory over them. Now in that valley of Garni there was a cavern in a narrow defile which was as deep as the profoundest reflection of the wise. The Georgians, mounted as they were, made for this cavern and cast themselves into it; but the ringleaders of every sedition and the mischief-makers of the age, namely Shalva and Ivane, were taken prisoner together with the other Georgian notables and dragged in chains before the Sultan. Now Shalva was like the men of 'Ad[3] in hugeness of body and stature and in splendour of dignity and power. When they came before the Sultan he asked him where was now the fury with which he had cried: 'Where is the owner of Zul-Fiqar[4] that he may feel the stroke of my flashing sword?' 'It was the Sultan's good fortune,' he said. He was then invited to embrace Islam, and he replied: 'Cultivators have a custom of hanging up an ass's head in their vegetable gardens in order to ward off the evil eye.[5] Now Shalva too would be an ass's head[6] amongst the verdure of the garden of Islam.' Nay, [160] saving your presence, he was a complete boor *(kūn-i-khar)*.[7]

[2] Reading GRNY for the KRBY of the text. The town of Garni (Garni) was situated on the river of the same name which flows into the Araxes to the east of the Zanga, on which Erevan, the present-day capital of Armenia, stands.

[3] On the people of 'Ād in Ancient Arabia see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 1–2.

[4] Ẕul-Fiqār (Dhul-Fiqār) was the sword of the Caliph 'Ali.

[5] This superstition is referred to in an anecdote in Sa'di's *Bustan* (ed. Foroughi, 158).

[6] *sar-i-khar*, i.e. an unwelcome intruder. See Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 300.

[7] Lit. 'podex asini'.

The Sultan now returned victorious and triumphant to Tabriz; and from the awe which he inspired all hearts trembled and foes were overcome with terror throughout those regions; and his army was now large indeed compared to what it was before. He showed honour to Shalva and Ivane, and thinking they might be of assistance to him in conquering Georgia he gave them, as an additional act of bounty, Marand, Salmas, Urmiya and Ushnu.

> What hope hast thou of the unclean? For the Ethiopian
> does not become white from washing?

And he equipped a large army and sent Shalva and Ivane with it, they having spoken words in accordance with his temper, and made all manner of undertakings and deluded him with false promises; intending with the rope of deceit to cast him into the well of assassination and by acting the fox to bind that panther-like lion in the bonds of their wiles. Meanwhile, the Sultan travelling alone, had set off to meet a noble lady [8] *(kharīda)* not a slave-girl bought *(kharīda)* with gold, and made for Khoi. From here he proceeded towards Georgia and they came together at Duvin,[9] which is on the frontier of Georgia. And first of all the Sultan sent Malik the Basin-Holder [10] on an embassy to Qiz-Malik.[11] Now Qiz-Malik was a woman who was ruler of all the Georgians. And there is a tradition regarding the Commander of the Faithful Abu-Bakr *(may God be pleased with him!)* that when the report reached him that the ruler of Persia was a woman [161] he exclaimed: *'Base is he that entrusteth his affairs to a woman!'*

One day Malik the Basin-Holder was standing on the bank of the River Kur, when a drunken *qasīs* (for so they call priests)

[8] I.e. Malika, the divorced wife of Öz-Beg.

[9] I.e. Dvin (in Armenian Duin, pronounced *Dəvin*), one of the many capitals of Armenia. It stood on the left bank of the River Garni below the town of that name. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 86, 125 and n. 4, also, for the history of the town, 116–24.

[10] He evidently held the same office as Jalal-ad-Din's ancestor Nush-Tegin. See above, i, 278 and n. 8.

[11] I.e. Rusudani (1223–47).

coming from Shalva behaved insolently towards him and said: 'Soon Malik[12] will send an army so that we may entrap the Sultan and his army in the valley of Markab[13] and wreak our vengeance on him.' Malik the Basin-Holder slew the priest that very instant and flew to the Sultan like a bird on the wing. At dawn when the voices of the muezzins were arousing the faithful from their slumbers he reached the Sultan and informed him of the true state of affairs and the treachery of the party of error. The Sultan commanded Shalva and Ivane to be brought before him together with forty other emirs so that information might be sought and warning taken. He spoke to them as follows: 'We wish to consult you as to which is the better road to take, the Kars[14] road or the road through the valley of Markab.' Shalva and the emirs replied: 'The Kars road is in fortified territory and it is impossible to pass along it, but the Markab road is the middle road and nearer to Tiflis.[15] When we arrive there the armies will be scattered by the news of the Sultan's approach and we shall subdue and conquer the region of Tiflis.'

The truth being now clear as to the bad faith of those hypocrites the Sultan stood up and with the sword in his hand [162] he struck at Shalva's waist and cut him in two so that his blood polluted the sword. He then ordered them all to be dispatched to hell and took counsel with his own emirs as to which road he should take. Each of them expressed his own views, and the Sultan then said: 'My own counsel is that we should fall upon them by surprise while they are unaware of the fate of

[12] Qïz-Malik? [13] MARKAB. See below, n. 15. [14] Spelt *Chārs*.

[15] At the time of this conference Jalal-ad-Din must have been to the south of the Pambak range which he afterwards crossed (see below, n. 16), presumably in the Pambak area. The shortest route to Tiflis lay along the Borchala (Debeda) valley. This must correspond to the *Mārkāb road*. In fact in a side valley there is a place called Marts which may be connected with Mārkāb. By the *Kars road* must be meant the road from Tiflis to Kars by way of Lori and Gumri (the later Alexandropol, now Leninakan). This road could be reached by following a route along the southern slopes of the Pambak Mountains which, at its junction with the Tiflis-Kars road, was dominated by the Georgian fortress of T'et'ris-tsikhe. It was evidently to avoid this westerly, and dangerous, detour that Jalal-ad-Din decided to strike northwards across the mountains and so descend, through the Bezobdal Pass, into the Lori steppe. (V.M.)

Shalva and Ivane and are still awaiting news of them.' In accordance with his own plan he at once set out with 10,000 valiant men and so continued until he came to the foot of the Band-i-Panba [16] pass, to fly over which would be the task of an eagle. He dismounted and his army followed behind. The mountain goats watched his passage and because of the shame of going on foot and fear for themselves they cast themselves down headlong from the rocks. When the fountains of dawn gushed forth he came upon those fornicators. Both sides engaged in fierce battle, and hands were set to arrow and sword, until in the end truth prevailed over falsehood, and the greater part of the sect of polytheism fell into the net of destruction, the people of error being bitten by the serpents of perdition; the companions of the Sultan victorious and the friends of Satan vanquished. '*See they not how many generations we have destroyed before them? Not to* false gods *is it that they shall be brought back.*' [17]

That day when night drew in they encamped where they were. The next day at the time when

> *The dawn follows the darkness at the heels of its star*
> *Venus like the thruster of the lance at the heels of*
> *the man fleeing before him*—[18]

[163] they came to the plain of Lori.[19] A cloud of dust had been stirred up so that the two sides could not distinguish each other. When it subsided and the sun had risen they descried the Georgians who looked like weary game fallen into the net, in groups of five and ten. As a soldier caught sight of a Georgian so he killed him, and in this way more were slain and went to join their companions. Lori itself Jalal-ad-Din spared. And

[16] So in E. The text has *BND PNBH*. The reference is to the Pambak Mountains which stretch from Leninakan to the region of Lake Sevan.

[17] Koran, xxxvi, 30–1.

[18] From six lines by the Emir Abul-Muta' quoted by Tha'alibi at the beginning of the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 6.

[19] Lori (in Armenian Lōrē) was the chief town of a district called Tashir. Its ruins are situated near the health resort of Stepanavan in Northern Soviet Armenia. It was for a short time (*circa* 980–1089) the seat of an Armenian dynasty. See Minorsky, *op. cit.,* 41 and 102, Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie,* 507–8, 520–1 and 564–6.

from thence he proceeded to the castle of 'Aliabad.[20] The garrison sued for quarter and he did them no harm.

For the whole of the months of Muharram and Safar[21] he remained with the army, but when the new moon of Rabi' I[22] was described he took a fancy to go hunting and set out alone with only a few horsemen. When the Georgians heard of this they dispatched 500 horsemen, all experienced warriors, in the hope that they might capture the Sultan unawares with the lasso of trickery and so extinguish the fire of Islam.

> The knight of the world, the son of Dastan, the son
> of Sam, will not lightly put his head in the snare.[23]

Catching sight of them from a distance the Sultan realized that this was a mighty deluge but hoped that from the quarters of the winds of Fortune there might blow a breeze from the grace of the Powerful and Glorious One and scatter the dust of Adversity in the eyes of those vile ones. He joined battle with them and made charges in which one man drove back five hundred; and each time he felled several of the enemy. The Sultan's army now learning of his plight a detachment came to his assistance; and in the meantime more and more men were joining those wretches until they exceeded 10,000 in number. Orkhan sought refuge in the neighbourhood of Tiflis and kept the army based on it until the Sultan with a detachment of his followers shouting the *takbir* [164] charged down upon those wretches and smiting to right and left with sword and lance left many of them lying on the field.

> Hast thou seen the sea raining mountains? So does
> he wield his sword.
> Thou wouldst think the sun were a cloud if he strikes
> it with fear of himself.

When the Georgians had felt the weight of his mace, they took

[20] 'Alīābād is mentioned in Nasawi ed. Houdas, 178 [tr. Houdas, 295] as belonging to a princess whose mutilated name appears to be T'amt'a. It was probably situated south of the Kur some distance to the east of the Debeda. (V.M.)

[21] January and February, 1226.

[22] The beginning of March.

[23] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1662, l. 2940.

the road of flight; and finding the approaches to the town crammed with stalwarts they turned towards the river,[24] and in their terror the craven wretches hurled themselves, horses, arms and all, to destruction in the water and departed unto hellfire.

> Over the hearts of such as envy him the breast is a
> grave because of their fear of him.
> Over the bodies of his enemies the skin is a shroud
> because of their dread of him.

And when the garrison of the castle saw what had happened they set their hands to battle; but when the army put forward the foot of advance and harassed and disabled them with a discharge of star-transfixing arrows and liver-consuming quarrels they cast the treasury of Qiz-Malik into the river and the next day sued for quarter. The Sultan granted their request and stood by in person as they passed his various posts on their way to the Abkhaz country.[25] And whatever villages and castles within the confines of Tiflis were crammed with the factions of Iblis he uprooted them all; and there fell into the hands of his followers plunder beyond all computation. He likewise demolished the churches of Tiflis, on the building of which valuable treasures had been expended since ancient times; and he founded the cells of Islam upon their sites.[26]

[24] *Jaiḥūn*: here the Kur is meant. See above, i, 326, n. 26.

[25] I.e. to Georgia proper, Tiflis being still regarded as a recent acquisition from the Moslems. Abkhaz is not Abkhazia but the territory of the 'Abkhaz' dynasty of Georgia. (V.M.)

[26] It is interesting to compare an account of these events by Kirakos of Gandzak, a witness hostile both to Jalal-ad-Din and to the Georgians: 'The aforesaid nation from the north-east, who were called Tartars, pressed hard upon the Sultan of Khorasan, Jalaladin, defeating his troops and subjugating his country; and they drove him as a fugitive to the land of the Albanians. He came to the town of Ganja and took it; and he gathered about him troops without number, from the Persians, the Arabs and the Turks. Then he came to the towns of Armenia, seeing which Iwanē informed the king of the Georgians and collected many troops to oppose the Sultan. They were greatly puffed up with pride and had made treaties that if they gained the victory over him they would make all the Armenians that were in their power go over to the religion of the Georgians, while such as opposed them they would remove with the sword.

'The Sultan then came to the province of Kotayk' [around the present-day Erevan]; and Iwanē came with the troops of the Georgians and stood opposite

Suddenly [165] messengers arrived with the news that Baraq had slipped off the collar of fidelity and had set off from Kerman with the purpose of conquering Iraq. To counter Baraq the Sultan spurred on Buraq-like [27] steeds and leapt forward like the lightning *(barq)*. Taking such as he could of his troops with him he skimmed the surface of the earth like the wind and yearned to soar like the flames of fire. In the stages he travelled and the routes he followed the troops were left far behind; and in 17 days he rode from Tiflis to the confines of Kerman, accompanied by no more than 300 horsemen. When Baraq Hajib learnt of his coming he sent many presents to him and tendered excuses.[28]

The Sultan then went to Isfahan for several days to rest his

him, above. But the Sultan led on his troops and came in front of them. Seeing this a leader *(ishkhan)* from amongst the chiefs of the Georgians, Shalwē by name, and his brother Iwanē, brave and famous men, and victorious in war, said to the other troops: "Stand and wait a while, and we shall go and join battle with them. If we cause some of them to turn back, ours is the victory: do you then come also and save your lives." And when they joined battle they began to smite the troops of the Sultan, but the troops of the Greeks [i.e. the Greek Orthodox Georgians] took no heed of this but fled from the field in such a fashion that a man could not find his fellow in the rout: they went on without being pursued until they were all pushed over a precipice and filled the valley above the small town of Garni. And when the Sultan's men saw this they entered after them, and slew many and hurled others over the precipice. And when the Sultan came to the head of the valley he beheld a mournful sight, multitudes of men and youths heaped up like mounds of rocks. He shook his head and said: "This deed is not of man, but of God alone, Who is all-powerful." And he turned to strip the fallen. And having laid waste many towns he came to Tiflis, and he was helped by the Persians that were in it; and he took it, and slew many people, and many also he forced to forsake Christianity and accept . . . the doctrine of the Arabs. Many, therefore, being moved by the fear of death, exchanged the truth for falseness; others, preferring a brave death to a life of remorse, inherited the name of martyr and departed this world by a goodly death. Then he gave command not to inquire who believed and who did not but to circumcise all by force. And so men's hands were forcibly held to their sides [by one], while another took a sword and severed the skin of the male member. And they had commerce with the women in filthy lewdness. And in all places, wherever they found a cross or a church, they demolished and destroyed it; and this they did not only in Tiflis but also in Ganja and Nakhchivan.' (Venice ed., 117-18.)

[27] See above, p. 417, n. 21.

[28] No such gesture is recorded by Nasawi, according to whom (tr. Houdas, 207) Jalal-ad-Din turned back because of a report of the strong defensive measures adopted by Baraq.

horses,[29] and the great men of Iraq came to wait on him. Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il has this long *qasida* [*à propos* of this occasion]:

The carpet of the earth's surface has again become verdant through the auspicious passage of the army of the Lord of the World.
Such as are left of men and beasts are congratulating one another on being alive.
From the garden of the Sultanate this one sapling has raised its head, whose foliage is all justice and its fruit beneficence.
In order that they may present themselves at his court Nature has again begun the generation of men.
Jalal-i-Dunya-u-Din [30] *Meng-Burni*,[31] that monarch whom God has rightly made Sultan of the world.
[166] How excellent the degrees of thy might and thy perfect counsel! How excellent the qualities of thy character, which are beyond description!
O World-Conqueror, God has sent thee because the four corners of the world are thy kingdom. Go! Take them!
Justice is the witness to thy kingship: cause the witness to thy good nature to pass wherever thou wilt.
Thou wilt experience the life of Noah because through thee prosperity came to the world after the Deluge.
Thou hast exacted revenge for the pulpit of Islam from the Cross: thou hast removed the bell from the place of the *azan*.
Thou hast lifted the covering of tyranny from the face of justice; thou hast raised the veil of infidelity from the cheeks of the faith.
Through thy arm the arm of Islam has grown strong which had been laid waste by infidel warriors.
The Buraq of thy purpose raising its foot in India set it down again in Arran.
Who has there been save thee of the kings of the age who has given his horse oats from Tiflis and water from Oman?

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[29] Reading *istijmām* with C, as M.Q. suggests in the Errata, II, 354. The text has *istiḥmām*, i.e. 'to take a bath'!

[30] 'The Glory of the World and the Faith', an elaboration of his name.

[31] On the spelling of Jalal-ad-Din's title of Meng-Burnï see M.Q., II, 284–92. It appears to be derived from the Turkish *meng* 'mole' and *burun* or *burïn* 'nose' and so to mean 'the man with a mole on his nose'.

[167] From the play of thy blade in striking the foe is checkmated.
What need is there of horses[32] and elephants?[33] Send a single foot-soldier.[34]

News now reached him that the Georgians had gathered their forces again; that the vizier Yulduzchi,[35] whom the Sultan had left as his viceroy in Tiflis, had been forced to flee to Tabriz; that Malik Ashraf[36] had sent Hajib 'Ali[37] from Damascus to Akhlat,[38] which he was attacking every few days; that Malika had gone from Khoi to Akhlat and had been admitted by Hajib 'Ali; and that the Georgians had re-entered Tiflis and were destroying the mosques and torturing the Moslems. The Sultan was disturbed and distressed at this news and at once left for Azerbaijan.

What sort of life is that of a man who every day has a banner unfurled before a town,
And if the wind brings the sound of a drum from afar, his heart is startled?
O thou who hast not need for armies and excitement, pleasant for thee the siesta and the soft bed!
He that has a crust on which he may live unbeholden to other men, he indeed is the emir!

When the Sultan arrived in the neighbourhood of Akhlat, his army slew whomsoever they found and carried off whatsoever

[32] I.e. knights. [33] I.e. bishops. [34] Or pawn.

[35] Reading YLDZČY for the YLDRǰY of the text. Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 28) has YWLDWZČY. The full name of the vizier was Sharaf-al-Mulk 'Ali b. Abul-Qasim al-Jandi (i.e. of Jand, though Houdas in his translation, 159 and 382, has el-Djondi, i.e. al-Jundi, 'the soldier'); and he also bore the titles of Khoja-Jahan and Fakhr-ad-Din. As for Yulduzchi ('the Astrologer') it appears in Houdas' text in the corrupt form BLDWǰN—Beledoudjen in the translation—and is described as a 'sobriquet dédaigneux qu'on lui avait donné au temps où il était encore un personnage obscur'. (Nasawi tr. Houdas, 376. Cf. also, *ibid.*, 382).

[36] On the Ayyubid Malik al-Ashraf, afterwards ruler of Damascus (1229–37), see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 149–56.

[37] This was the *ḥājib* Husam-ad-Din 'Ali b. Hammad of Mosul, 'a very energetic man to whom the Ayyubid cause owed its greatest successes in Armenia'. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 150–4.

[38] Akhlāṭ (now spelt Ahlat) lies on the north-western shores of Lake Van in Eastern Turkey. The original Armenian form of the name was Khlat' (i.e. Khəlat'): it was the chief town of the district of Bznunik'.

[168] they saw. Coming to the gates of the town itself they threw themselves in and began to pillage and massacre. Cries and screams arose from men and women, and the Sultan sent his personal attendants to fetch them out of the town. The common people raised an uproar, and some of the soldiers were killed and the rest driven out. The position had now passed out of control and try as they might the Sultan's men were not allowed to re-enter the town.

Meanwhile news had come of the arrival in Iraq of Taimas [39] and Tainal [40] and, it being impossible to remain, he left for Iraq by way of Tabriz and proceeded from thence to Isfahan. And wherever there were scattered troops or individual men they all rallied to the Sultan. The Mongol army, meanwhile, had arrived at Ray, and the Sultan prepared for battle and summoning all the notables and khans—

He called for the nobles from the army—[41]

addressed them as follows: 'This is a great event which has overtaken us and a mighty disaster which has come upon us. If we give way to impotence and cowardice, it will be impossible to survive. In any case it is better to resist and endure. If the grace of God assist us then both we and you shall be saved. And if the event be otherwise we shall not be deprived of the degree of martyrdom and the excellence of [eternal] bliss. *God Almighty hath said: " Believers! when ye confront a troop, stand firm and make frequent mention of the name of God, that it may fare well with you."* ' [42]

They all with one heart and voice acclaimed the Sultan, and he drew up his army, arraying the centre and the wings. The right wing he confided to his faithless brother and tyrannical peer, Ghiyas-ad-Din, and the left wing he strengthened . . .,[43]

[39] Reading TAYMAS (with E, II, 186) for the NAYMAS of the text. Taimas means 'he who does not flinch'. Houdas (text, 135 and 230) adopts the form YATMAS, i.e. Yatmas, 'he who does not lie down', which is also possible.

[40] See above, i, 90, n. 14.

[41] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 26, l. 66.

[42] Koran, viii, 47.

[43] Here there is a blank in A and B and a lacuna in the sense.

while he himself took up his stand in the centre and [169] arranged the battle-line. He was about to order the right and left wings to charge together with himself the centre of the enemy's forces and the opposing wings, when his brother, Ghiyas-ad-Din, turned rein together with Elchi Pahlavan, his attendants and some others.

> *In my experience of Sa'id [in seeking to renew our friendship]*
> *after I had experienced his character in his excesses*
> *I was like one who was doubtful again about dung after smelling*
> *it and to make sure tasted it.*[44]

Sultan Jalal-ad-Din was alarmed on this account and filled with disgust of the army. Nevertheless he did not turn tail but attacked the enemy's centre, whereupon the right wing of the Mongols drove back his left wing and his right wing the Mongols' left, and the two armies were mingled together. The Mongols penetrated behind the Sultan's centre, his standard was dislodged from its position and the enemy's right wing continued to pursue his left, so that none knew of each other's whereabouts. The Sultan, meanwhile, was left in the centre, where there remained with him no one but the attendant of his led horse. He was encompassed on all sides like the centre of a circle. Now he felled one from his horse, now he clove the limbs from another, until he escaped from their midst and fled to Luristan, where he took up his abode in a valley and where he was unexpectedly joined by fugitives in ones and twos. No one in Isfahan or in the army was aware of what had befallen him, some thinking that he had been killed in battle and some that he had been taken prisoner.[45]

As for the Mongols they came to the very gates of Isfahan and then without the slightest halt rode at great speed to Ray, which they reached in three days.[46] From thence they made for Nishapur and so returned.

[44] Abu-Ahmad b. Abu-Bakr b. Hamid, one of the secretaries of the Samanids. See the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr*, IV, 5. (M.Q.)

[45] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 231) the Battle of Isfahan was fought on the 26th August, 1228.

[46] E and C add here: 'And part of the army laid siege to Kashan, which they took in three days with much slaughter and pillaging; and from thence proceeded to Ray.'

The Sultan now set out for Isfahan, sending bearers of the good tidings on [170] in advance and himself following in their wake. All the men and women of the town came out to welcome him and deemed his coming to be the advent of joys and the departure of disasters.

> When the Iranians beheld his face, they all together went towards him.

The Sultan was angry with most of his chief followers and he ordered such khans and leading men as were court officials and title-holders of his house and had done nothing on the day of battle to be brought before him. Women's veils (*miqna'a*)[47] were cast over their heads and they were paraded through the streets. As for such as, while not of the rank of emir, had on that day, which was the Day of Judgement, come to the fore in the fighting, and planted their feet firmly, and faithfully stood their ground, to some of them he gave the title of *khan* and to others that of *malik*[48] together with robes of honour and other presents: he singled them out for special favour and caused their market to flourish.

[XVIII]

OF THE SULTAN'S RETURN TO GEORGIA

FROM thence in the year 625/1227–8 he proceeded to Georgia. Now the Sultans of Rum, Syria, Armenia and all that region, being in dread of his violence and vengeance, his furious charge and headlong attack, had formed a confederacy[1] and united[2] in order to repel him; and an army was assembled consisting of Georgians, Alans, Armenians, Sarir,[3] Lakz,[4] Qifchaq, Svan,[5]

[47] Because of their cowardice?

[48] As a title *khan* was higher than *malik*, which in turn was higher than *emir*. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 165.

[1] Lit. 'had made a pact (*bai'at*) with one another'. [2] *yak-tīgh shoda*.

[3] On the Sarīr, i.e. the Avars of Daghestan, see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 447.

[4] *Lakziyān*. On the Lakz, whose name still survives in that of the Lezghians of present-day Daghestan, see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 411 and 455.

[5] *Suvaniyān*. This people still survives in modern Georgia along the Upper Ingur. See also Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 27–8.

Abkhaz,[6] Chanet,[7] Syrians and Rumis; [171] to whom were joined men who had been roasted in the fire of life and chosen on the day of battle.

The Sultan arrived at Mindor [8] near where they lay and pitched camp. He was embarrassed by his shortage of armaments and lack of swordsmen and lancers, as also by the great numbers of the enemy and the reversal of his fortune; and he consulted with the vizier Yulduzchi and his other ministers.

Yulduzchi thought that as their numbers were not a hundredth part of the enemy's, their best course would be to pass through Mindor and cut them off from wood and water so that they might languish in the heat and their horses grow lean. Meanwhile the Sultan's own forces upon every side would have arrived; they would then be in a position of strength and able to see their way clearly, and they could set to and give their minds to battle.

The Sultan became as enraged as it was possible for him to become and seizing a pencase that lay in front of him hurled it at the vizier's head. 'They are a flock of sheep,' he said. 'Does the lion complain of the size of the flock?'

Yulduzchi repented his ineffectual words and as a fine forfeited 50,000 dinars.

'The case,' said the Sultan, 'is hard and difficult, but the only solution is war and trust in God. It is impossible to know who will prevail.'

The doors of the treasury were opened and the herds of horses rounded up, and the emirs and dignitaries as well as those of middling rank and the common soldiers carried off what they could and made their preparations.

[6] The Abkhaz on the Black Sea coast in the extreme north-west of Georgia are now citizens of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia.

[7] Reading ČANYT for the ḤANYT of the text, for which D and E have JANYT. Chanet is the Georgian Ch'anet'i, which strictly speaking means 'the *land* of the Ch'an', Ch'an being the Georgian name of the Laz, who still inhabit the south-eastern shores of the Black Sea between Trebizond and Batum. See also Allen, *op. cit.*, 54–6.

[8] I.e. Mindori (in Georgian 'field', 'plain') near Lori. According to the Georgian Chronicle the battle was fought at Bolnisi. (V.M.)

[172] When the enemy hosts arrived with their drums and bugles, their male and female camels, standing rank behind rank in readiness for battle, they thought the Sultan's army in comparison with themselves was but a stream out of a sea, nay but a ball in their field. *God Almighty hath said: 'Twenty of you who stand firm shall vanquish two hundred: and if there be a hundred of you they shall vanquish a thousand of the infidels, for they are a people devoid of understanding.'* [9]

When the Georgian army came up the Sultan's army also donned their arms, and the Sultan ascended a high hill in order to observe the enemy. He caught sight of the signs and banners of the Qifchaq upon the right with 20,000 picked men. Sending for Qoshqar he gave him a loaf of bread and a little salt and dispatched him to the Qifchaq to remind them of their obligations to him. During his father's reign they had been enchained and humiliated, and he by his diplomacy had saved them and had interceded on their behalf with his father. Was it a fulfilment of their obligations that they were now drawing their swords against him?

On this account the Qifchaq army held back and at once vacating their place in the battle-field stood upon one side from the rest.

The Georgian army having drawn up their ranks the Sultan sent a messenger to Ivane,[10] who was their leader, with this message: 'You have come a long way to-day. Your horses are knocked up and your men tired. Let us remain where we are to-day, and let the warlike youths upon either side enter the arena one at a time and lay hands upon one another, in thrust and parry, while we look on and put aside the affairs of to-morrow.' Ivane was well pleased with these words, and from their valiant youths and courageous stalwarts there stepped into the arena a chieftain who emulated a mountain in bulk, while on this side the Sultan, like Munkar,[11]

[9] Koran, viii, 66.

[10] I.e. Ivane Mkhargrdzeli, the famous Georgian general, on whom see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 102–3.

[11] Munkar is one of the two angels (the other is called Nakīr) who question the dead in their graves.

[173] Charged out from the army like a lion and came valiantly
before Hujir—[12]

whilst either side looked on. As he drove on his horse he shouted the *takbir* and

Thrust a lance at his girdle so that *khaftan* and clasps
(*bārband*) were split open.[13]

That accursed one fell from his horse and gave up the ghost. He had three sons, who came forward one after the other, and each time the Sultan through the strength and might of God Almighty dealt a single blow and dispatched the son to hell after his father.

As the hawk of thy terror pounced the falcon of
Fate became a dove,
O thou whose lance, upon the battle-field, closed
the eyes of the stars.

Another *aznaur*[14] with a body like Mount Bisutun and a lance like a pillar galloped forward on a horse of elephantine size—

Attacking and retreating, at once advancing and withdrawing,
like a great rock carried downhill by the flood.[15]

Now the Sultan's mount was no longer capable of moving forward because of its great weariness and was on the point of falling into the shackles of flight. The *aznaur* made a fresh attack every moment and each time the Sultan warded him off by the quickness of his movements. He continued to attack in this manner and dealt blows at the Sultan which had no effect.

[12] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 448, l. 252, where however the second half of the line is entirely different and the first half has *bād* 'wind' instead of *shīr* 'lion'. Macan's text, on the other hand, corresponds exactly to Juvaini. Hujīr is the commander of the Dizh-i-Sapīd or White Castle, which is attacked by Suhrab at the head of a Turanian host.

[13] *Ibid.*, 263, l. 341, with *ūi* instead of *ū* and *bunyād* 'foundation' and *paivand* 'joint' instead of *khaftān* and the difficult *bārband*

[14] In Georgian *aznauri*. On this Georgian rank see Allen, *op. cit.*, 225-7.

[15] From the famous *Mu'allaqa* of Imru'-al-Qais. (M.Q.) On Imru'-al-Qais, the celebrated pre Islamic poet, see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 103-7.

The position became serious and the accursed Satan was about to vanquish the merciful Sultan and the king to fall into the hands of the black *div*. The *aznaur* was again approaching in a charge when the Sultan leapt from his galloping horse and

> Hurled a lance at the head of Ashkabus: then Heaven
> kissed his hand.[16]

Thereupon the sound of the applause of the terrestrial angels ascended to the Supreme Pleroma and the cry of '*Praise God, Who hath granted victory to His servant!*' reached the ears of men and jinns, and both sides marvelled at this feat, the like of which was beyond the powers of Rustam son of Zal, and

[174] Everyone said, 'This is Rustam, or else the sun at dawn.'[17]

And when these several persons, each of whom was a great warrior and a bulwark of the army, had in one moment become the prey of a single horseman and the food of dogs and hyenas, despair and terror overcame those wretches while fear and dread departed from the army of Islam.

From where he stood the Sultan made a sign with the butt of his whip, and the men of battle advanced, and the Georgian army turned tail. The first signs of victory became apparent and the beauteous lights of triumph uncovered their faces; and in one moment the plain became a rugged hill from the piles of the slain and the face of the earth was dyed deep red with blood.

The case of those wretches was now beyond repair and the schemes of those liars could no longer be promoted by lying. They saw no alternative but to flee while there was still time, grasping the skirts of Night and concealing themselves behind the curtains of Darkness. '*And God is not unjust.*'[18] Every corner of the hills and plains shook with the noise of their cries and screams, and the earth quivered with the neighing and braying of their distracted beasts.

[16] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 950, l. 1410, where the first half of the line is:

> When he shot an arrow at the breast of Ashkabus.

Ashkabus was a Turanian warrior slain in battle by Rustam.

[17] *Ibid.*, 436, l. 57.

[18] Cf. Koran, xli, 46: '. . . *and thy Lord will not deal unfairly with His servants.*'

So much booty *(ghanā'im)* was taken that no attention was given to flocks of sheep *(aghnām)*, and wealth *(ni'mat)* became so general that no account was taken of herds of cattle *(an'ām)*. And when the Faith of the Prophet again *(bi-navī)* waxed strong, and news of the dread and terror of the Sultan's name was spread to the horizons, and these good tidings were dispatched to every side, kings and nobles again took heed of him. Meanwhile the Sultan proceeded from thence to Akhlat.

[XIX]

OF THE SULTAN'S ADVANCE AGAINST AKHLAT AND THE CAPTURE THEREOF

WHEN the Sultan returned from Akhlat the first time in order to proceed to Iraq, the rulers of that town had repaired the citadel and strengthened the walls. Upon his arrival for the second time he sent messengers to announce his approach and request their presence. [175] The strangers to the town who were its governors refused to answer that summons and began to knock at the door of resistance. They closed the gates, not realizing that they were trampling on their own fortune and making a felt bed out of the spikes of caltrops. When he despaired of their accepting his advice he commanded his army to form a circle round the town, to build houses [1] and to prepare mangonels and other implements of war such as quarrels and [pots of] naphtha. Inside the town also they made ready for battle. Both sides set up their mangonels, and arrows and quarrels poured down like hail. Night and day the battle-kindling warriors of the Sultan assaulted the gates of the town, and the townspeople for their part kept devising means to repel them until days and months had passed in this fashion and dearth and famine made their appearance in the town. They secretly sent messengers to Baghdad, Rum and Damascus asking the rulers thereof to mediate with the Sultan. And the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustansir billah,[2] and the Sultans of Rum and Damascus

[1] *khānahā*. Perhaps some kind of siege constructions are meant. [2] 1226–42.

several times sent envoys to intercede on behalf of the people of Akhlat. But since the inhabitants of the town were unwilling to owe allegiance to the Sultan, the brain of these fools of Akhlat having been maddened by the putrefaction of the humours *(akhlāṭ)*, they had opened their mouths in downright abuse and had wagged their tongues with obscene ravings, and all at once the demon of error had darted into their veins and minds. They therefore turned a deaf ear to the acceptance of advice and insisted upon continuing to resist. Nearly ten months [3] passed in this way, and finally the people of the town were reduced to starvation. The Sultan then ordered his men to attack from every side and force their way into the town. He and his emirs were extremely angry and annoyed at the insults and abuse of the townspeople; and he commanded the soldiers [176] to massacre them from morning till midday, when, the flame of his wrath having died down, he had pity on the poor wretches and gave orders for the sparing of their lives.

He took up his abode in the palace of Malik Ashraf, while Mujir-ad-Din, the latter's brother, and his slave [4] 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg entered the citadel *(ḥiṣār-i-andarūnī)* without water or provisions. Mujir-ad-Din then came out and waited on the Sultan, who treated him with honour and respect. He delivered a message from 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg asking that his life might be spared and offering to conclude a treaty. The Sultan turned to Mujir-ad-Din and said: 'When thou canst claim the title of Sultan how will thy pride allow thee to bear the message of an emasculated slave? He cannot be held responsible. Let him do as he likes. He knows.'

Perceiving that the Sultan was not disposed to pay attention

[3] According to Ibn-al-Athir, XII, 318, the siege of Akhlat lasted from the beginning of Shavval, 626 (August, 1229), to Jumada I, 627 (April, 1230), i.e. *eight* months, which is also the figure given by Nasawi in his *fatḥ-nama*. See below, p. 446.

[4] *mamlūk*. 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg had been appointed governor of Akhlat in succession to Hajib 'Ali, who had fallen into disgrace. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 154. He was afterwards put to death by Jalal-ad-Din (see below, p. 451, also Nasawi tr. Houdas 334) and so is not to be confused, despite the identity of their names and condition, with the future Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, Mu'izz 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg (1250–7).

to his words, they realized that this was no time for importunity. Ai-Beg himself came out having caused his men to don mail under their clothing and placed javelins in their hands, intending to create a disturbance as he entered the Sultan's presence and strike him unawares. The eyes of the guards (*mufradān-i-abvāb*)[5] fell upon their garments and they realized that there was evil underneath. They prevented them from entering and brought in Ai-Beg to the Sultan alone. The latter took no notice of him and ordered his following to be imprisoned.

Finally, when the Jamshid of the heavens set out on his journey to Damascus (*Shām*), the sun of monarchs turned towards the sweetmeats spread out for supper (*shām*) and made to enter the palace (*īvān*), where he passed the night in the company of the daughter[6] of Ivane, who was the wife of Malik Ashraf, and so assuaged his anger at the elopement of Malika.

The man of perception will take full warning from these happenings. When the Sultan took Malika to himself [177] another[7] [also] took her to himself; and the year was not ended before the spouse of Malik Ashraf fell into the Sultan's hands.

Approve in no one what thou approvest not in thyself.

Much wealth and riches was carried off from Malik Ashraf's treasury, and the double thereof was obtained from the well-to-do people of the town. The Sultan's treasury was restored to affluence with the influx of cash and jewels; and the soldiers were heartened with the spoils and booty.

The Secretary Nur-ad-Din[8] composed a *fath-nama* of which the following is a copy.

Copy of the *fath-nama*

Praise and thanksgiving unto the Creator (*glorious and sublime is His mention!*), Who hath caused victory and triumph to

[5] See above, p. 412, n. 1.

[6] Her name was T'amt'a. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 155–6, for an account of her subsequent history.

[7] I.e. Hajib 'Ali. See above, p. 435, also Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 153.

[8] I.e. Nasawi, the biographer of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din.

accompany our fortune-begetting counsel and our empire-increasing banners and hath assisted and strengthened our august enterprises and our auspicious undertakings. By a single movement a whole clime comes into the possession and control of the servants of our house *(to which God grant eternity!)*, and with another step a whole army is imprisoned in our might and subjected to our command. And '*this is of the favour of my Lord, to try me whether I will be thankful or unthankful*'.[9]

And thus our banners with triumph embroidered upon them and bearing the effigy of victory *(may God encompass them with His aid!)* came to flutter over the whole land of Armenia and for eight months [10] formed a circle round the town and environs of Akhlat. Again and again we recited to the opponents of our house verses of promise and menace, and time after time we advanced the premisses of warning and admonishment to drive home our argument and prove our case, in order that perchance they might with the eye of insight perceive the road of their salvation and leap to one side from the path of the hurricanes of our fury and the thunderbolts of our displeasure, which even a mountain cannot withstand; but might flee from the clashing of the waves of our conquering army's wrath to the Mount Judi [11] of submission and [178] allegiance; and come forward begging forgiveness, and open their gates. However, during all this long time no answer at all was heard to the prayer of '*O God, guide my people, for they know not*', and our opponents became day by day more stubborn in their error and delusion—

That God might accomplish what was already done.

Great numbers of soldiers from Diyar-Bekr and the banks of the Euphrates, from Egypt and Syria, and some also from the lands of the East and from the Turcoman and Turkish tribes had crowded together into the town, all kinds of peoples gathered together from every side and relying upon the strength of their

[9] Koran, xxvii, 40. [10] See above, n. 3.

[11] In the Kurdish district of Bohtan (Buhtan) to the south of Lake Van. According to the Mesopotamian and the later Mohammedan tradition it was on Mount Jūdī that Noah's Ark came to rest.

right arms, the stoutness of the walls and their ample stock of crossbows *(charkh u nāvak)*, mangonels, naphtha and siege instruments.[12] And indeed its towers *(burūj)* competed with the eighth sphere *(falak-al-burūj)* while the moat at its bottom passed [13] along the back of the ox-fish.[14] Terrestrial and celestial influences and effects had joined hands in perfecting the fortifications whereof the foundations were as unshakable as the laws of the heavens.

The madness of pride had penetrated the core of these rebels' hearts so that no room was left for the acceptance of admonishment, and depraved imaginings had taken such hold of the enemy's brains that they could not comprehend the idea of right. Finally at the end of Jumada I [15] our victorious followers *(God aid and strengthen them!)* received permission to fight, and orders were given that everyone should make a breach where he stood and every man seek entry in the place in front of him. Our lion-like retinue and valiant followers, who had long wearied of their standing idle and had in all manner of ways begged leave to do battle, engaged for three days and nights in a bitter struggle, seeking to enter the town from every side. On Sunday the 28th Jumada I,[16] at sunrise when the towers and battlements had been decked out with a vanguard of banners and standards as the heavens with stars [179] and shouts and cries arose from every side of the town, the opponents of our house took refuge in a castle in the middle of the town and our victorious followers *(may they never cease to be victorious!)* busied themselves with looting and pillaging. And although the people of Akhlat, in view of their persistence in error, had no right to mercy, yet it was our just and benevolent counsel to spare their lives, and we gave command to our men to desist from plundering. The clouds of our unstinted munificence poured their bounty upon the lot of those hapless wretches; and all settled down to their

[12] *jarrhā-yi-saqīl*: perhaps some instrument for lifting objects. At the present day *jarr-i-saqīl* is the ordinary word for 'crane'.

[13] Reading *ijtiyāz* with C and E for the *ikhbār* of the text.

[14] *gāv-māhi*: a creature, half ox, half fish, supposed to support the world on its back.

[15] April, 1230.

[16] 15th April, 1230.

former pursuits repeating prayers for our victorious house *(may God strengthen the foundations thereof!)*.

Some of our opponents, perceiving that the road of flight was closed and the gate of our all-embracing mercy open, proffered excuses and sought pardon, saying: '*O Lord, we have dealt unjustly*.'[17] It was the decision of our counsel, which ever pardoneth faults and bestoweth happiness, to have compassion on them; and so we passed over their misdemeanours, and by this act of boundless benevolence the door of hope was reopened to all the guilty. And to-day the brothers of Malik Ashraf, viz. Mujir-ad-Din and Taqi-ad-Din, as also 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg, the ruler of Arzan[18] and the Emir Aqsam,[19] everyone of them, together with Asad son of 'Abdallah[20] and all the officials of the Ayyubids are, *nolentes volentes*, strung upon the string of allegiance; and because of their lives that we have spared and the pardon that they have received they raise their hands in prayer for the increase of our strength and dominion and the continuance of our fortune and felicity.

By this auspicious action a clime of this splendour has been added to the realms inherited and acquired by us *(may God increase their extent!)*, as sooner or later the realms of Syria and Rum will likewise fall into the hands of the servants of our house *(may God perpetuate it and grant them victory!)*.

These happy events having occurred and our desires having been thus achieved we have dispatched the Emir So-and-so *(may God support him!)* to the emirs, chief men, *sadrs*, notables, cadis, leaders, *shaikhs*, the wise, the distinguished, the respected and in short to all the inhabitants of Hamadan *(may God cause it to flourish and improve the affairs of its citizens!)*. Let all rejoice and be exceeding glad at these signs of favour which the Creator

[17] Koran, vii, 22.

[18] Arzan was a well-known principality to the south of Bidlis. Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 335) gives the ruler's name as Husam-ad-Din Toghril. He was a descendant of Shams-ad-Daula Toghan-Arslan the Hunchback, on whom see Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 83.

[19] Unidentified.

[20] Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 335) calls him Asad b. 'Abdallah al-Mihrānī, i.e. of the Kurdish tribe of Mihrān.

(glorious and sublime is He!) hath shown unto us, and may they be heartened and encouraged by the success [180] of our victorious house *(may its fabric continue strong and its foundations firm!)*, whereof the profits are common to all nations, and may they add to their duties prayers for our welfare, if God Almighty so will.

[XX]

OF THE SULTAN'S ADVANCE TO MAKE WAR ON THE SULTAN OF RUM

THE Sultan having gained the victory over the Georgians, a people, who by reason of their inaccessibility, the impregnability of their strongholds, the greatness of their wealth and the prowess of their warriors had been secure from the vicissitudes of fortune and whom mighty kings and the princes of Syria and Rum had met on terms of equality for fear of their fierceness in battle, nay from whom they had turned tail in weakness and impotence—all this people now bowed their necks in allegiance to him, and the conquest of Akhlat was added to these conquests and became the evening draught to that morning draught. Fear of the Sultan spread through all those regions and the tale of his severity and rigour was diffused far and wide.

The Rulers of Rum and Syria, imitating the example of the City of Peace dispatched relays upon relays of gifts and presents to the Sultan in his splendid and magnificent hall of audience. His court again became the resort of the noble and the great, his following numerous, his fortunes flourishing, his treasuries overflowing and the surrounding regions fruitful by his justice. The following quatrain was composed by a man of letters at this time:

O king, the world is becoming as thou wishest;
Shrewish Fortune is becoming thy slave.
I wait patiently till the coin of mankind,
As also their *khutba* is adorned with thy name.

From Akhlat the Sultan proceeded to Malazjird [1] and from thence to Khartabirt,[2] [181] being affected with some infirmity. It was at this time that the Sultan of Erzerum [3] was distinguished with all manner of favours in gratitude for his assistance at the time of the siege of Akhlat by the supplying of provisions and cattle for slaughter.[4] He reported that Sultan ʿAla-ad-Din had made peace with the rulers of Aleppo and Damascus; that they were leagued together against the Sultan and busy collecting together their forces; and that they were constantly threatening him and saying that if the Sultan had not been supplied with provisions at the gates of Akhlat it would have been impossible for the Sultan to maintain himself.

Despite the greatness of his infirmity and the failing of his strength the Sultan rode on. When the army reached the plain around Mush 6,000 men, who were going to the aid of the Syrians, crossed their path. They surrounded and killed them all in a single instant.

Some days after, when the armies were drawing close to one another, the Sultan of Rum, Malik Ashraf and the other Sultans and rulers of those countries came together and assembled so much gear and equipment and mustered so many men as to be beyond computation. They drew up their forces on a hilltop, placing naphtha-throwers and crossbowmen with cowhide shields in front, both mounted and on foot.

When the tinder of battle had caught light and the fighting had reached the pitch when the zephyr of Fortune was beginning to blow and the bud of Hope to unfold, the Sultan decided to get out of his litter and on to the saddle. But his strength was not sufficient to hold the reins. Like victory they slipped from his grasp, and the horse turned round against his will and walked a few paces back. His attendants then said that the Sultan

[1] Now Malazgirt. The original Armenian name of the town was Manazkert. It was here, in 1071, that Alp-Arslan gained his great victory over the Byzantines.

[2] Now Harput.

[3] His name was Rukn-ad-Din Jahan-Shah. See above, i, 250, n. 10.

[4] *gūshtī*: the text has *kūshi*, a word of which M.Q. could make nothing. *gūshtī* occurs in I, 163, and also in III, 32, where it is interpreted by M.Q. as meaning 'animals that are slaughtered for their flesh'.

should be allowed to rest for a while until he had recovered his strength and his personal standards were therefore carried back. Seeing this the right and left wings thought that the Sultan was in retreat, and they too turned back. [182] The enemy, however, imagining that this was a trick of the Sultan to draw them down on to level ground, a herald stood up in the midst of their troops and proclaimed that no one should stir from the spot and go in pursuit of them. Meanwhile, the Sultan's army having scattered and dispersed in every direction, it was impossible to make a stand and the Sultan was in a dilemma.[5] He turned back and made towards Akhlat, from which place he recalled those whom he had detailed to defend it, and then proceeded to Khoi. Of the brothers of Malik Ashraf he dismissed Mujir-al-Mulk with honour, whilst he gave leave to Taqi-ad-Din to return and intercede on his behalf with the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustansir billah. As for Husam-ad-Din Qaimari [6] he had fled. His wife, who was related *(ham-shākh)*[7] to Malik Ashraf was still there and the Sultan treated her with respect and sent her back with every show of kindness and attention. As for 'Izz-ad-Din Ai-Beg he met his end in the castle of Dizmar.[8]

It would be strange indeed if Fortune were always propitious and did not in the end produce a trick out of her juggler's cup.

> The Heavens do not assist us, it is not hard for them
> to behave basely.
> I complained that my luck was asleep. Alas! being
> awake does not last.
> A stone, O Heavens, lies upon me. It would be strange
> if you do not rain.[9]

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[5] This battle was fought near Arzinjan (Erzincan) on the 10th August, 1230. See Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 154.

[6] For an account of his escape see Nasawi tr. Houdas, 334–5. His full name was Husam-ad-Din al-Qaimari al-Hasani b. Abul-Fawaris. He was afterwards the Ayyubid governor of Aleppo, from which he fled upon the approach of Hülegü. See Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, 34.

[7] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 31) she was Malik Ashraf's daughter.

[8] Dizmār is in Western Qaraja-Dagh (east of Marand). (V.M.)

[9] I.e. 'if you do not show mercy'?

The Sultan had not yet recovered from the blow on the cheek of his fortune when he received tidings that Chormaghun Noyan had crossed the Oxus. He deputed the vizier Shams-ad-Din Yulduzchi to defend the castle of Giran [10] and confided his womenfolk to him in that place. The Sultan himself went to Tabriz, from whence, despite his differences with [183] the Commander of the Faithful and the Sultans of Syria and Rum, he dispatched messengers to them reporting the crossing of the river by the Emperor's [11] army and bearing a message to the effect that this great host of Tartar troops was in magnitude and might like unto ants and serpents. Neither castles could withstand them nor cities. Fear and dread of them was deep-rooted in the hearts of the people of those parts. 'If I am removed,' he went on, 'you cannot resist them. I am to you as the Wall of Alexander. Let each of you send a detachment with a standard to support me, and when the news of our concord and agreement reaches them, their teeth will be blunted and our army in good heart. "*And we have decided what we must do.*" But if you treat this matter lightly you shall see what you shall see.

> Let each of you see to his life; exert your understanding
> in this matter.'

Alas! Alas! When thou hast planted the sapling of discord in a man's breast and watered the roots thereof with the blood of men's hearts, what fruit dost thou expect therefrom save the thorn of revenge [12] and the sting of Fate? And if you fill a goblet with deadly poison, wherefore desire to taste therefrom the wine of Babylon? To offer excuses and seek pardon after inciting to vengeance is a balm laid upon men who have died of their wounds; it is the potion given to Suhrab after his death.[13]

[10] Girān. Now Gīlān, to the north of the Araxes. (V.M.)

[11] I.e. Ögedei's.

[12] Reading *ṣār* 'revenge' with C for the *ṯamar* 'fruit' of the text.

[13] When Suhrab lies dying Rustam sends to Kai-Ka'us to ask for a potion in his possession that will heal his son's wounds. The request being refused Rustam sets out to appeal to the king in person but is overtaken by a messenger with the news that Suhrab is already dead.

I am not the first to hope for what he did not attain,
even if I love one who dwells among the ghada [14] *trees.*[15]

The powerful fortune and auspicious ascendant of the Emperor of the World, Chingiz-Khan,[16] threw their words into disagreement and changed the Sultan's hope into despair and disappointment. Suddenly news arrived that the Mongol army had reached Sarab. The Sultan set out at full speed for the district of Bishkin.[17] The roof of the palace in which he lodged on the night of his arrival caved in, and he took this for an omen and recognized it as a sign that the pinnacles of his greatness were tottering and that his pregnant hopes were suffering a miscarriage. His was a dynasty that had long been on the rise until the announcers of death and the ravens that foretell separation had with the tongue of circumstances whispered in its ear the ill news of its decline and beaten the royal drum in the house of another. He wavered for a while as though to make a show of resistance, just as a bird will flutter when its throat has been cut; and deceitful Fate teased and tormented him like the hunter who, in order to have sport with a wild creature that has fallen into his net, fastens it to a rope; it leaps for joy but when it reaches the end of its tether he draws it back. *God Almighty hath said: 'Until as they were rejoicing in our gifts, we suddenly laid hold upon them, and lo! they were plunged into despair.'* [18]

He set out the next day for Mughan. He had been there five days when the Mongol army arrived close at hand in his pursuit. He abandoned his tent and encampment at dawn and entered the mountains of Qaban.[19] Finding the Sultan's encampment deserted the Mongols at once turned back.

[14] H. R. P. Dickson, *Kuwait and her Neighbours*, London, 1956, p. 594. describes *ghadā* as a 'saline-tasting bush *(Haloxylon persicum Bunge)*, one of the varieties known under the general name of *hamdh*'. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. J. D. Latham of the University Library, Manchester.

[15] See Tabrizi, *Sharh-al-Hamasa*, Bulaq ed., III, 148. (M.Q.)

[16] This is of course a mistake, Chingiz-Khan having died three years before in 1227.

[17] Now Mishkin (the district round Ahar). [18] Koran, vi, 44.

[19] Qabān. The Armenian Kapan, now Kafan, a district in the extreme south-east of Soviet Armenia, noted as a copper-mining centre.

The Sultan spent the winter of 628/1230 in Urmiya and Ushnu. Sharaf-al-Mulk Yulduzchi, whom he had placed in charge of his harem [185] in the castle of Giran, was falsely accused of having, at the time of the Sultan's absence when all news of him was cut off, cast covetous eyes at his harem and treasury. A report to this effect had reached the Sultan, and when he came to that district, Yulduzchi for fear of the Sultan and dread of [what] this tale [might involve], refused to come out of the castle and asked the Sultan for a safe-conduct *(mīṣāq)*. At his request the Sultan sent in Buqu Khan, who brought him out by force or persuasion. When he reached the place where the ministers' horses were tethered, he was detained there, and such great officials of the Divan and other dignitaries as were in attendance on him, seeing the posture of his affairs, separated themselves from him one by one, until the vizier was left standing all alone. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din then spoke as follows: 'I raised Yulduzchi from the nadir of abasement to the zenith of exaltation and from a foundation of trash to a pinnacle of eminence; and so he has requited my kindness.' He gave orders for his horses to be taken as plunder by the lads in attendance *(vushāqān-i-ḥaẓrat)*, while he himself was handed over to the governor of the castle; and after a time, at the slanderous instigation of the envious and upon the calumniatory accusation of enemies, he entrusted him to the confinement of eternity, nay to the prison of the grave. He later repented of this act.

He now set out for Diyar-Bekr, and when the Mongol army *(ḥasham)* returned to Chormaghun the latter chided them roundly for turning back and abandoning their intensive search for the Sultan. At the very moment, he said, when such an enemy had lost his strength and the veils of concealment had fallen from him, [186] how could they then give him respite and slacken the search. And he dispatched like lightning in his pursuit Taimas [20] and other chief emirs with a band of vengeful Turks such as those who sought to avenge Afrasiyab upon Gurgin.[21]

Now the Sultan had sent back Buqu Khan [22] to act as scout

[20] See above, p. 436, n. 39.

[21] One of the heroes of the *Shahnama*.

[22] See above, i, 305, n. 67.

and reconnoitre the movements of the Mongol army. Upon his arrival in Azerbaijan it was reported to him that they had struck the drum of departure from Iraq also and that there was no trace or news of them in those parts. Without treading the highway of circumspection, as is incumbent upon, and the bounden duty of, the trusted servants of the Court, nay the emirs of the Empire, Buqu Khan turned back and bore the Sultan the glad tidings that the Mongols had disappeared, and in joy thereat

The king caused music to be played, and the palace
became like the garden of spring.

And I like not drunkenness save only that it benumbs
me so that I feel not the hurt of misfortune.

It is related that one day Mutawakkil [23] was rebuking one of his courtiers for devoting his time to pleasure and indulging in unlawful practices. The man replied: '*I call sport to my aid against Fate only because to endure the cares of this world is possible only with a little rejoicing.*' However, cases differ.

In a word, the ministers and chief men, like the Sultan, neglected the defence of their lives for the circulation of cups. For all the forlornness *(bī-navā'ī)* of their affairs they again *(bi-navī)* struck the road of song *(navā)*; while instruments of war were in preparation they set their hands to harp and tambourine; they preferred the bellies of women to the backs of stallions and chose slender damsels [187] rather than lean steeds. From the goblet there gushed forth pure blood, and they thought it wine; from the strings *(rag)* of the harp there issued a mournful lament, and they sang bass and treble *(bam u zīr)*. This was the same king who had made the saddle his throne, the saddle-cloth his couch, armour his cloak and a helmet his crown. Forsaking preliminary skirmishes and pitched battles for unions with maids and matrons, he now, contrary to his wont, preferred feasting to fighting, making wine the balsam of the wound of Fate, forgetting in the loving-cup the thrust of powerful foes, hearkening to the cheerful notes of harp-strings rather than seeking out bowstrings and drinking old wine rather than mounting

[23] The 'Abbasid Caliph (847–61).

a noble charger. Someone composed the following *à propos* of that occasion:

O king! what will come of [drinking] strong wine?
And what will come of continual drunkenness?
The king drunk, the world in ruin and enemies before and behind—
It is plain to see what will become of this![24]

Two or three days passed in the vanity of merrymaking. Suddenly pregnant Night gave birth to her infant Disaster, and at midnight when the throne of Sultan Wisdom had been usurped by the Demon Ignorance, and the core of the heart had become the centre of human greed, and lofty thoughts, those noble chargers, had been curbed by the bridle of physical desire, and drunkenness had deprived emir and vizier of prudence and forethought, and the army of Sleep had overwhelmed the world of the brain, and all the men and [188] most of the guards *(mufradān)* were shackled and crippled with intoxication—at the time

When a third of the dark night had passed and the
morning-star moved across the revolving circle.[25]

a Tartar host of mighty warriors, whose leader was Taimas,[26] came upon men without guard or watch. And it was a strange fact that when Qa'an charged Chormaghun with the destruction of the Sultan and appointed the various emirs, he turned to Taimas and said: 'Of all these it is thou that shalt deal the final blow to the Sultan.' And so it was. Acting with caution, in the belief that the men before them were also watching and waiting, the Mongols advanced noiselessly like creeping ants. Orkhan[27] became aware of their approach and went at once to the Sultan's pillow. The Sultan was in his first sleep forgetful that

Events may fall out at dawn.

[24] This quatrain is quoted in the *Kitab-al-Fakhri* of Ibn-at-Tiqtaqa, who ascribes it to one of Jalal-ad-Din's courtiers. See my note, *Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā and the Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juvaynī*.

[25] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 438, l. 82. For the *az* 'of' of the text Vullers has *zān* 'of that'.

[26] See above, p. 436, n. 39. [27] See above, p. 409, n. 50.

As for sleep I see in it the imagination of joy; it is
a sweeter fruit than the awakening that drives away slumber.

Being thus rudely awakened from sleep he ceased to doubt the power of God Almighty and clearly perceived and realized that the skirt of counsel was firmly held in the hand of Destiny; that the steed of Wisdom lay helpless at the feet of Fate; that the arrows of Cunning, fitted to the bow of Possibility, had broken without hitting the target; that Calamity had intervened between him and Safety; and that he had alighted at the stage of Evil. Without waiting for evening the strange guest had drunk at dawn, and Peace and Security had girded their loins to depart. But this time the guest was a fierce warrior, and the host knew how to dispel a drunken headache. He asked for cold water and poured it over his head as though to signify that he had done with hotheadedness, and [189] with a heart glowing like a blacksmith's furnace and an eye dripping like a broken pitcher he set out with a small following and much lamentation, bidding farewell to that mistress, Empire, nay reaping the field of his luck.

If the eye of the nights overlooked us for a time
we should think this good.

O day of youth, may thy night be pleasant! Thou and
I have seen the Day of Judgement.

And when the Sultan set off with a small body of men he ordered Orkhan not to move his standard and to offer resistance until he had gained a little lead. Obeying the Sultan's command he struggled impotently for a short while, and when he turned tail the Mongol army, believing him to be the Sultan, charged after him like eagles. When they realized that they had failed in their main object *(pāi az dast dāda and va pai girifta)*, they returned to the encampment, where they put officers, soldiers and dignitaries of state to the sword making them the food of flies and the titbit of wolves. The phoenix Vainglory, which had laid an egg in the brain of each man's pride, after hatching the chick of joy set about producing a cock's egg. All the hopes they had entertained of this transitory world now turned to dust, and the garment of their lives was rent in the teeth of annihilation. If

before they had been exalted like the Constellation of the Bear *(banāt-an-na'sh)*,[28] now indeed they were nought but corpses *(abnā-an-na'sh)*[28] forming a couch for earth and rubble.

> So the ancient circle ever turneth; now it is like
> a bow, now like an arrow.[29]
> Now it is love and sweet wine, now hatred and poison—
> thus is the revolving circle of Fate.

As for the Sultan of blessed memory, unable to fulfil his wishes—

> With a heart torn in two with the cruelty and sorrow
> of the world, he still fears that fear may be alive.

[190] he set his face to the road.

If this be how the world keeps faith, how then if it played the tyrant? But they have given the name of 'World' to a place set with snares and that of 'Time' to nets of misfortune, just as they have called the centre of griefs 'heart' and the seat of cares 'soul'.

> O thou with whom my existence has become entirely one,
> I know not whether that seat of griefs is I alone or thou.
> Grief knocked at the heart's door. The heart cried, 'Enter!
> There is no separate existence: thou art I, and I am thou.'

> I do not believe that any age will suffer what we are enduring
> from the vicissitudes of Fate.
> It is not a period of rest and repose; it is a season of calamity
> and a time of troubles.
> A whole world is full of evil and confusion because the fortune
> of the King of the World is exposed to trial.
> O generous man, know that this evil and confusion is nought but
> the grieving of an old woman.

> *It is strange beyond surprise that we should attribute*
> *the blame for events to Time*
> *And attack him with reproach, when he has a muzzle on*
> *his mouth even though he were granted speech.*

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[28] Lit. 'daughters of the bier' and 'sons of the bier'.

[29] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1061, l. 229. The following line, which is not in C, E or G, is lacking in Vullers.

*Does he not hurry along like man, while everything is
bound up with the affairs of Death?* [30]

Accounts differ as to how the Sultan met his end.[31] Some say that upon arriving in the mountains of Amid [32] he had encamped for the night in a certain place when a party of Kurds conceived a desire to despoil him of his clothes and stabbed him in the breast, not realizing what deed they had done or what game they had caught. Nor is this strange: wherever there is a *huma* it is vilely treated in the claws of an owl [191] and wherever there is a lion it is sorely tried from fighting with a cur. Now how this came to be discovered was that those Kurds [33] entered the town clad in his garments, and certain of his retinue recognized his clothes and arms; and the ruler of Amid, when he had been acquainted with the circumstances, put the Kurds to death and ordered a grave to be dug and a murdered man, thought to be the Sultan, to be buried in it. But some say that these were other clothes which his retinue had with them and that the Sultan, clad in rags, was following the calling of a Sufi and wandering about amongst the lands and peoples of Islam. But however it came about he departed this life after receiving a blow from this pitiless, inconsiderate world.

Years afterwards, whenever a rumour arose amongst the people that the Sultan had been seen in such-and-such a place, especially in Iraq, Sharaf-ad-Din 'Ali of Tabrish,[34] who was the vizier of Iraq, would for a time be actively concerned with such

[30] It has been impossible to identify the author of these verses but it is almost certain that the two lines quoted above, II, p. 186, and 188, are from the same poem. (M.Q.)

[31] For Nasawi's account see Houdas' translation, 409-10, also d'Ohsson, III, 61-2.

[32] The Roman Amida, now called Diyar-Bekr after the district of which it is the chief town.

[33] At this place there is the following note in the margin of C: 'The Sultan was certainly murdered by the Kurds, for while they were murdering him his wife Malika Khatun with a small party fled from thence to Rum, and the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Abu-Bakr then sent men to fetch his sister from Rum to Shiraz. Thus it was ascertained that it was indeed the Sultan whom these wretches had unwittingly murdered for the sake of his clothes.' (M.Q.)

[34] I.e. Tafrish.

reports; and again and again the glad tidings would be spread through the town and countryside that the Sultan was in such-and-such a castle or in such-and-such a place.

In the year 633/1235–6 a man rose in rebellion in Ustundar [35] claiming to be the Sultan; and his fame spread far and wide. During the governorship of Chin-Temür the Mongol emirs sent some persons who had seen and known the Sultan to look at this man. He was put to death for his lying.

In the year 652/1254–5 a party of merchants came to the banks of the [192] Oxus. One of them told the boatmen that he was Sultan Jalal-ad-Din. He was seized and the matter investigated. He persisted in his claim until he was put to death. There are many kinds of madness.

To be brief, all those rumours and reports were of no avail. '*Everything shall perish except Himself! Judgement is His and to Him shall ye return!*' [36]

[XXI]

OF YAMIN MALIK [1] AND IGHRAQ AND THEIR FATE

WHEN Sultan Muhammad fled from the banks of the river, Yamin Malik, who was feudatory of Herat, proceeded to that

[35] See above, p. 385, n. 73. [36] Koran, xxviii, 88.

[1] C has Yamin-al-Mulk. This person is differently named by different historians. Juvaini usually refers to him as Amin Malik and sometimes as Amin-ad-Din Malik; but throughout the present chapter he is called Yamin Malik. Nasawi everywhere calls him Amin Malik, while Ibn-al-Athir, XII, 259, calls him Malik Khan. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Juzjani he appears as Malik Khan and Malik Khan of Herat and in Rashid-ad-Din ed. Berezin, XV, 126, [Smirnova, 220–3] as Khan Malik. [He is called Qan Melik in the *Secret History* (§ 257) and Mieh-li-k'o-han in the *Yüan shih* (Krause, 38, Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's und sein Tod*, 530–1) and the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* (Haenisch, *op. cit.*, 528).] He was a chief of the Qanqli Turks and the Sultan's cousin (the son of his maternal uncle). His daughter was married to the Sultan. Having first been entrusted by Sultan Muhammad with the governorship of Herat he afterwards entered the service of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din becoming one of his chief commanders. See above, pp. 405 and 406/7, also Nasawi tr. Houdas, 109 and 144–5. He was finally killed by the Mongols at Peshawar at the time of Jalal-ad-Din's crossing the Indus. See above, pp. 409–10. (M.Q.)

place and then went on by way of the Garmsir [2] to Ghazna. Muhammad son of 'Ali [193] Khar-Pust of Ghur was then in Ghazna as the Sultan's representative with 20,000 men. Yamin Malik encamped at Sura [?], two or three stages from Ghazna, and sent a messenger to Khar-Pust asking him to assign them pasturage so that they might remain together, for the Sultan had fled to Iraq, and the Tartars had entered Khorasan, and [they should stay together] until it was known what had become of the Sultan. Now at that time Shams-al-Mulk Shihab-ad-Din of Sarakhs, the vizier of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, was also in Ghazna, and Salah-ad-Din of Nisa, who was governor of the castle and the inner town on behalf of the Sultan, was likewise present. Khar-Pust and his emirs replied to Yamin Malik as follows: 'We are Ghuris and you are Turks; we cannot live together. The Sultan has assigned fiefs and pasturage to everybody. Let each remain in his own place and see what happens.' Messengers passed several times between them but no decision was reached and the Ghuris persisted in their unfriendly attitude. Shams-ad-Din the vizier and Salah-ad-Din now agreed together to make an attempt on Khar-Pust's life. 'In their hearts,' they said, 'the Ghuris are rebels against the Sultan, and they will not admit Yamin Malik, the Sultan's kinsman, into the territory of Ghazna.' Now all the troops in Ghazna were collected together half a parasang from the town, where they had a camp. Shams-al-Mulk and Salah-ad-Din the Governor having thus agreed to make an end of Muhammad Khar-Pust they entertained him in a garden. Suddenly Salah-ad-Din of Nisa stabbed Khar-Pust and killed him. Having killed him Shams-ad-Din and Salah-ad-Din threw themselves into the town before his troops had learnt of his fate and seized the castle. The Ghuris then scattered and after two or three days Yamin Malik [194] entered Ghazna and became its governor.

After a while there came news that Chingiz-Khan had arrived at the Talaqan near Balkh and that two or three thousand Mongols had come by way of the Garmsir [3] in search of Yamin Malik. He collected an army and advanced against them.

[2] See above, i, 136, n. 9. [3] See above, i, 136, n. 9.

Seeing that his numbers were superior to theirs they retired without offering battle, and Yamin Malik pursued them as far as Bust [4] and Teginabad,[5] from whence the Mongols departed in the direction of Herat and Khorasan, while Yamin Malik proceeded to Sivistan [6] by way of Qusdar.[7] He had brought Shams-al-Mulk with him and he now imprisoned him in the castle of Kujuran [8] in [the district of] Bust and Teginabad. Salah-ad-Din he had left in Ghazna, and during his absence the people rose in rebellion and killed and mutilated him.

In Ghazna the cadi and Razi-al-Mulk and 'Umdat-al-Mulk, two brothers, made themselves masters of Tirmiz [9] and then agreed together to make Razi-al-Mulk ruler of Ghazna. Meanwhile, Khalaj and Turcoman tribesmen without number had poured out of Khorasan and Transoxiana [195] and gathered together in Peshawar, their leader being Saif-ad-Din Ighraq Malik. Razi-al-Mulk conceived the desire of attacking and defeating them and then making himself master of India. He raised an army and advanced on Peshawar to do them battle, but the Turcomans and Khalaj defeated him and slew both himself and the greater part of his army.

His brother 'Umdat-al-Mulk being in command in Ghazna, A'zam Malik, the son of 'Imad-ad-Din of Balkh, and Malik Shir, the governor of Kabul, proceeded thither with an army of Ghuris, who had gathered around them, and besieged him in the castle in the middle of the town; in the course of the fighting they set up mangonels and at the end of 40 days had taken the castle.

Meanwhile, Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, in his flight from Khorasan before the Mongols had reached the castle of Kujuran and

[4] The modern Qal'a-yi-Bist.

[5] Perhaps on the site of Qandahar. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 345.

[6] Sīvistān, also known as Bāis or Vālishtān, is the present-day district of Sibi, to the south-east of Quetta.

[7] Quṣdār. Now Khuzdar, 85 miles south of Kalat. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 373.

[8] KJWRAN. Unidentified.

[9] *There must be some mistake.* There would have been no point in their seizing Tirmiẕ (Termez) on the northern bank of the Oxus.

released Shams-al-Mulk, whom he sent to Ghazna to make preparations for his residence there as ruler. Shams-al-Mulk arrived on the very day the castle was captured and gave the welcome news of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's approach. A week later the Sultan himself arrived, and armies turned towards him and gathered around him from every side, and provided him with all the appurtenances of royalty. Yamin Malik, who was in India, heard of the Sultan's arrival and hastened to his side. So too Ighraq Malik joined the Sultan from Peshawar with Khalaj and Turcoman troops. And A'zam Malik and Malik Shir with a great host of Ghuris likewise placed themselves at the Sultan's disposal. In this way a well-equipped army of sixty to seventy thousand men was gathered around him.

With these forces Sultan Jalal-ad-Din proceeded to Parvan,[10] which [196] lies on the border of Bamiyan where many roads meet and where he hoped to get information about the course of events. Meanwhile some ten to twelve thousand Mongol horsemen in pursuit of the Sultan arrived before Ghazna. There being no troops in the town there was no obstacle in their way and they had unexpectedly entered the town before the inhabitants were aware of their presence. Some set fire to the Friday mosque whilst others killed whatever people they found in the streets. After remaining one day they took a guide and proceeded to Parvan in pursuit of the Sultan. There they joined battle. The Sultan was victorious, and the Mongol army returned to Chingiz-Khan at Talaqan.

After the Sultan's victory a dispute arose between the Khalaj, Turcomans and Ghuris on one hand and the Khorazmians on the other over the sharing of the horses taken as booty. The result was discord in the Sultan's army; and Ighraq Malik and A'zam Malik turned back with all the Khalaj, Turcomans and Ghuris and made for Peshawar, while the Sultan set out for Ghazna with the Turkish and Khorazmian troops that still remained with him.

Upon leaving the Sultan, Ighraq Malik, A'zam Malik and

[10] See above, p. 405, n. 34.

the other emirs went to Ningrahar,[11] which was the fief of A'zam Malik and where he entertained them as his guests, offering refreshments and every manner of polite attention. Now there was bitter enmity between Nuh Jandar, a Khalaj emir with five to six thousand tents, and Ighraq Malik. The latter now set off for Peshawar with 20,000 men while Nuh Jandar stayed behind to pasture in Ningrahar. When Saif-ad-Din Ighraq Malik [197] was one stage distant he sent the following message to A'zam Malik: 'Between thee and me is the relation of father and son. I am the father and thou art the son. If thou wouldst please me do not give Nuh Jandar leave to abide in thy territory and do not let him stay there.' A'zam Malik replied: 'It is not fitting that there should be war and enmity between Moslem armies at such a time as this.' And with an escort of 50 horsemen from amongst his chief men he set out after Saif-ad-Din Ighraq in order to effect a reconciliation between him and Nuh Jandar. Saif-ad-Din Ighraq bade him welcome and made him sit and drink wine with him. A'zam Malik began to speak of Nuh Jandar and to intercede on his behalf, but Ighraq refused to listen. Suddenly, drunk as he was, he mounted horse and set out for Nuh's encampment accompanied by a hundred horsemen. Nuh, thinking that he came in kindness, went before him with his sons and saluted him respectfully. Ighraq Malik was still drunk. He drew his sword to strike Nuh and was at once seized by Nuh's soldiers, who tore him to pieces. When news hereof reached his camp his men exclaimed: 'This is an act of treachery on the part of A'zam Malik. He came here with the connivance of Nuh in order to put an end to Ighraq Malik.' Thinking this they seized A'zam Malik and put him to death. Then they attacked Nuh's encampment and killed both Nuh and his sons. Many were thus killed on either side, and the Ghuris fought them also, and great numbers were slain.

Shortly afterwards Tekechük and Sayyid 'Ala-al-Mulk of Qunduz came upon them. Tekechük was the commander of

[11] Reading NNGRHAR for the BKRHAR of the text. Ningrahār is the present-day Jalalabad district of Afghanistan. See Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 252-3.

the Mongol army and 'Ala-al-Mulk the leader of the infantry levy *(cherig)*.[12] They destroyed the remnants [198] of the Khalaj, Turcoman and Ghuri armies. In a word, those twenty or thirty thousand Khalaj, Turcomans and Ghuris, after separating from Sultan Jalal-ad-Din, were all scattered and slain within less than two or three months either by the hands of one another or by the armies of Chingiz-Khan, and not a trace was left of them.

[XXII]

OF THE SULTAN'S MOTHER, TERKEN KHATUN [1]

By race she belonged to the Turkish tribes called the Qanqli,[2] and Terken on account of her origin used to favour the Turks,[3] who during her lifetime were in the ascendancy. They were called A'jami,[4] and mercy and compassion were far removed from their hearts. Wherever they passed by, that country was laid in ruin and the people took refuge in their strongholds. And indeed it was their cruelty, violence and wickedness [5] that brought about the downfall of the Sultan's dynasty.

People who regard the five prayers as supererogatory and
deem it lawful to shed the blood of pilgrims in the
Sacred Territory.[6]

[12] On *cherig* see above, i, 97, n. 4.

[1] On her name see above, i, 79, n. 3.

[2] Juzjani (Raverty, 240) says that she was the daughter of the Khan of the Qïpchaq, whereas according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 44 and 72) she belonged to the Baya'ut, a branch of the Yemek. On the relationship between the Yemek (the earlier Kimek), the Qïpchaq and the Qanqli, 'une des questions les plus obscures de l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale' (Pelliot, *Campagnes*, 95), see Minorksy, *Hudūd*, 304–10 and 315–17. On the Mongol tribe of the Baya'ut, of which Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 171, thinks the Yemek Baya'ut may have been an offshoot, see Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 82–9.

[3] There is a word-play, a 'visual' pun in the original, both Terken (Tergen) and *Turkān* 'Turks' being spelt TRKAN.

[4] See above, i, 305, n. 69.

[5] *nā-pākī*, lit. 'uncleanness'. Probably a reference to their paganism. Cf. the following verse. (V.M.)

[6] Slightly adapted from a *qaṣida* by Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

Terken Khatun had her own separate court and state officials and disposed of her own separate stipends and fiefs. Nevertheless her power extended over the Sultan, his finances and his high officers and officials. She used to hold secret revelries and it was through her that many an ancient house was overthrown. Whenever a kingdom or a country was conquered and the rulers of such kingdoms were brought to Khorazm as hostages she would cause them to be cast by night into the river [7] to the end that her son's empire might be untroubled by [199] rivals and the fountain of his authority unsullied with dust. She did not realize that God Almighty not only punisheth in this present world but knoweth how to chastise and retribute in the world to come.

> Whatever thou dost, the cruel world will write 'Oppression' upon thee with sharp pens.

When the Sultan in his flight crossed the river at Tirmiz he sent a messenger to Khorazm with instructions that his mother should set out with the rest of his harem for Mazandaran, where they should take refuge in the strongholds of those parts. Obeying her son's command she departed from Khorazm taking with her the other young boys, her grandsons, and the womenfolk. The troops she left in Khorazm in charge of the principal khans. At the time of her departure she ordered a number of local rulers *(sāḥib-ṭarafān)* who had been detained as hostages to be cast into the Oxus, all except those who were not of royal rank. With the children and the treasure she then set out for Mazandaran by way of Dihistan, [8] the vizier Nasir-ad-Din being in attendance on them.

When the Sultan arrived in Mazandaran he sent Terken with the rest of the womenfolk to the castles of Larijan [9] and Ilal.[10]

[7] *Dijla*, the name of the Tigris, is here applied to the Oxus. See above, i, 326 and n. 26, for the similar use of *Jaihūn* 'Oxus' to describe any large river.

[8] See above, i, 291, n. 40.

[9] Lārījān is now a sub-district of the district of Āmul. It is here, some 50 miles to the north-east of Tehran, that Mount Damavand is situated.

[10] Īlāl: on the head-waters of the river of Sari (Tījīn) in the Du-Danga canton. (V.M.)

And when Sübetei [11] came to Mazandaran in pursuit of the Sultan he laid siege to these castles. Now in no age had the castle of Ilal been recorded as having suffered a shortage of water, for those water-carriers, the clouds, used to spare the inmates the labour of storing water in tanks: the clouds by their weeping would cause the mouths of the garrison to smile. But it so happened that when the [Mongol] army sat down before the castle, the rain too became hostile and like Fortune deserted them.

> He is the Sultan, Who from water-carrying elephants presents
> the earth from the air with sweet water.

[200] After ten to fifteen days no water was left and Terken Khatun with the other members of the harem and the vizier Nasir-ad-Din was compelled to come down from the castle. And at the very hour when they reached the foot Day in her perversity let down the veil of the clouds and binding them one to another began to weep.[12] It was the story of the duck which said to the fish:

> When we are dead, what does it matter whether the world be
> sea or mirage? [13]

Terken Khatun together with the other members of the harem and Nasir-ad-Din was taken to Chingiz-Khan in Talaqan in

[11] Elsewhere (i, 146) Juvaini speaks of Jebe's troops as laying siege to these castles. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 431.

[12] 'The climate of Mázandarán is universally condemned. It is extremely capricious, and not naturally divided into wet and dry, or cold and hot, seasons: one year it pours for a month without cessation, and the same month in the next year may be quite dry. Though not nearly so damp as Gilán, it must be termed a humid climate, for there is no day throughout the year in which the people can rely on dry weather' (Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 9.)

[13] This is the last line of a quatrain included in Whinfield's edition of Omar Khayyam, where the wording is slightly different (*sharāb* 'wine' instead of *sarāb* 'mirage'). It is certainly not one of the genuine quatrains and is not for instance in the Chester Beatty manuscript recently edited by Professor Arberry. Whinfield's version (p. 16) runs as follows:

> Quoth fish to duck, ''Twill be a sad affair,
> If this brook leaves its channel dry and bare';
> To whom the duck, 'When I am dead and roasted
> The brook may run with wine for aught I care.'

the year 618/1221–2. When they came before him Nasir-ad-Din was tortured and all the male children of the Sultan, however young, were put to death. As for the rest, namely the Sultan's daughters, sisters and wives that accompanied Terken, Chingiz-Khan commanded them on the day of departure to sing a dirge on the Sultan and his empire.

When Sultan Jalal-ad-Din flung himself in the river his harem was sent to join them.

Terken Khatun was dispatched to Qara-Qorum, where she existed wretchedly for a number of years dying in 630/1232–3.

Of the Sultan's daughters two were given to Chaghatai. One he made a special concubine and the other he gave to his vizier Qutb-ad-Din Habash 'Amid. Of the daughters that fell to the lot of the other *ordu* [14] one was given to 'Amid Hajib.

Among the members of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's harem that were afterwards captured by Chormaghun [201] was a daughter aged two likewise called Terken.

Chormaghun sent her to Qa'an, who ordered her to be brought up in the *ordu*. When the Prince of the World Hülegü set out for the countries of the West, Mengü Qa'an sent her with him to give to any one that was fitting. Since the Lord of Mosul [15] had been distinguished from his peers by his long continued services Hülegü bestowed Terken upon his son Malik Salih.[16] She was married in accordance with the rites of the Shari'at, receiving also a dowry after the Mongol custom. This was in the year 655/1257–8.

[XXIII]

OF SULTAN GHIYAS-AD-DIN

HIS name was Pir-Shah, and the province of Kerman had been assigned to him. However, '*man proposes but God disposes*'.

When his father left Iraq for Mazandaran he sent his women-

[14] Which other *ordu*? Presumably that of one of Chaghatai's brothers, Ögedei or Tolui.

[15] Badr-ad-Din Lu'lu' (1233–59).

[16] Salih Isma'il (1259–63).

folk to the castle of Qarun [1] and left Ghiyas-ad-Din there also. When Sultan Muhammad *(may God illuminate his example!)* was drowned in the sea of death in the islands of Abaskun [2] [202] and the Mongols had passed by he came out of the castle and, Kerman having been assigned to him by his father, he made his way thither.

Shuja'-ad-Din Abul-Qasim, a retainer *(mufrad)* [3] of the *malik* of Zuzan, had been appointed governor of the castle of Juvashir.[4] Seeing the world in confusion he would not admit Ghiyas-ad-Din into the castle but sent offerings of food with the excuse that the castle must have a trustworthy governor and that he was the same old servant who had sat there at the Sultan's command.

Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din realized that the man was misled. He made no attempt to fight but turned away with those accompanying him and went to Iraq. Large numbers of men and individual emirs who had been in hiding gathered around him, and Baraq Hajib and Oghul Malik [5] likewise joined him. They marched against the *atabeg* Sa'd and attacked him in a place called Dina.[6] He fled before Ghiyas-ad-Din's assault and when the latter's army came up they obtained [as booty] quadrupeds of every kind and then turned back. Baraq Hajib had words with Ghiyas-ad-Din's vizier Taj-ad-Din Karim-ash-Sharq. He became angry and left with his following for India.

In the year 619/1222-3 Ghiyas-ad-Din marched against Fars. The *atabeg* evacuated the town,[7] which Ghiyas-ad-Din's army entered and plundered. From thence they proceeded to Khuzistan where, after engaging in a dispute with Muzaffar-ad-Din Wajh-as-Sabu',[8] they made peace and returned. It being [203] winter they settled down in Ray.

[1] See above, p. 382, n. 64.
[2] See above, i, 155, n. 6.
[3] See above, p. 412, n. 1.
[4] See above, p. 417, n. 22.
[5] This was Oghul Hajib, Moghol Hajib or Inanch-Khan, on whom see above, i, 158, n. 17. He died according to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 116 and 130) before Jira in the Kazerun area, poisoned, it was said, by Ghiyas-ad-Din for having aspired to his mother's hand, and was buried in a place called Shi'b-i-Salmān.
[6] Dīna. Perhaps identical with the Kūh-i-Dīnā range in Western Fars on the border of Khuzistan. (V.M.)
[7] Presumably Shiraz.
[8] On the career of Muzaffar-ad-Din Sonqur, a Turkish slave *(mamlūk)* of the Caliph Nāsir (1180-1225) see M.Q., III, 411-12. Wajh-as-Sabu' in Arabic means 'Lion's Face'.

All of a sudden there appeared Sultan Jalal-ad-Din like a lion falling unexpectedly upon a herd of gazelles. He alighted in Ghiyas-ad-Din's camp. Ghiyas-ad-Din was alarmed, but he reassured him. The next day Ghiyas-ad-Din's emirs and chief followers came to do obeisance. Those who had been curbed by the restraint of wisdom and had already previously cherished in their hearts the desire to serve the Sultan were distinguished by elevation of degree and loftiness of rank. But as for those who had not followed the [right] path and were constantly stirring up trouble he commanded them to be put to death near his place of audience.

Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din remained in his service together with some of his chief followers, and Sultan Jalal-ad-Din regarded him with the eye of brotherly affection; until one day, in the course of a drinking bout, referring to an officer *(sarhang)* who had left his service to attach himself to the son of Kharmil, Malik Nusrat,[9] he said to the latter, 'Why didst thou take in my guard *(mufrad)*?' Now Malik Nusrat was one of the Sultan's most intimate companions and one of his chief emirs. He enjoyed his confidence, and in the closet Jalal-ad-Din used to jest with him, and he too would utter pleasantries. He jokingly replied to Ghiyas-ad-Din: 'The officer must have bread in order to serve.' Sultan Jalal-ad-Din observed his brother's anger, and with a glance of the eye he commanded Nusrat Malik to leave. Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din stayed until the day had drawn to its close and he was overcome with drunkenness. Then he too withdrew, and passing by Malik Nusrat's house he sent a messenger to say that a guest was waiting to see him. Malik Nusrat at once came out of his house and helped Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din down from his horse. They entered the house, and a wine party being prepared by Malik Nusrat the cups were passed round again and again, and they grew drunk in the extreme. Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din then took his departure, and, as is customary, Malik Nusrat helped him

[9] Nusrat-ad-Din Muhammad. He was not the son but the grandson of Kharmil, his father's name being Hasan. He had been for a time in the service of Qubacha before attaching himself to Jalal-ad-Din. See Nasawi tr. Houdas, 146, and 233-4.

on to his horse and walked along by his side. Suddenly Ghiyas-ad-Din seized his dagger and struck him between the shoulder-blades.[10] [204] Shouts were raised that Malik had been killed, and bricks and clods of earth came flying down from the rooftops. Ghiyas-ad-Din spurred on his horse and escaped from that street to his own house. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din was at once informed of what had happened. The next morning he came in person to visit Malik Nusrat and ordered surgeons to be sent for. However the wound was beyond the powers of healing, just as the dagger had passed beyond the bone, and in a day or two's time he breathed his last. Sultan Jalal-ad-Din ordered all the emirs and chief men, as well as his soldiers, officials and servants and the people of Isfahan to go in mourning for him and don garments of sackcloth. Ghiyas-ad-Din out of shame for this unworthy act absented himself from attendance on his brother for a whole week, whereupon Sultan Jalal-ad-Din commanded him to be brought outside his audience-chamber and severely reprimanded through the mouths of the emirs. However, certain influential courtiers interceded on his behalf and brought him before the Sultan, his head hung down from excess of shame and too tongue-tied to offer excuses. Several days passed by, Ghiyas-ad-Din being filled with shame at his action and at the same time apprehensive of his brother. Then, when Tainal arrived at the gates of Isfahan and Sultan Jalal-ad-Din led out his army, he withdrew and made for Khuzistan by way of Lur, the reason for this step being his childishness and despondency. When he came to his kinsmen by marriage (*khusurān*), Hazar-Asf and the other emirs, they received him with honour and respect, but from fear of hurt from the Sultan thought it in their best interest and in his own to send him away. He left his mother and his emirs in Tustar, and the Caliph having honoured him with many presents he set out for Alamut, where he remained for some time. 'Ala-ad-Din of Alamut welcomed him with every show of honour and respect and was constantly making him presents worthy of

[10] Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 235-6) gives a somewhat different account of Nusrat's murder.

such a prince. However, all of a sudden he judged it prudent [205] to decamp from Alamut without their knowledge and proceed to Khuzistan. He then sent a message to Baraq Hajib in Kerman to tell him of his position; and once again treaties were confirmed between them, and they made a rendezvous in the desert near Varkuh,[11] where Baraq was to receive Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din when the latter should arrive there.

Baraq came to the trysting-place with a body of three to four thousand men and for two or three days he treated the Sultan with proper respect. However, the latter's following not amounting to 500 men, it then entered Baraq's head to marry the Sultan's mother. Rising above the station of his likes he sat on the same carpet with the Sultan and assigned places for his servants with one of the emirs. He began to address him in conversation as 'dearest child' and sent emissaries to seek his mother's hand. Perceiving how matters lay and having no means to prevent [events from taking their course], the Sultan left the decision to his mother. She for her part, after refusing, and denying, and showing many signs of fear and distress, gave way, and the marriage took place. And after much pressing, together with a number of her domestics she donned mail beneath her tunic [12] and entered [Baraq's] house, where the marriage was consummated. Now the spirit of Firdausi (may it be honoured with one of the perfumes of Paradise!) was perhaps describing these very circumstances in the verse:

> When the cypress disappears from its place, grass takes
> the place of that lofty cypress.[13]

And here is a most appropriate place to quote a verse by that elegant scholar Farid-ad-Din of Baihaq regarding a person who became vizier after Sharaf-al-Mulk,

> Raise thy head from the privy to see what he voided who
> sat in thy place.

When Ghiyas-ad-Din had come to the town and some days has passed, two of Baraq's kinsmen [206] approached him and

[11] Or Abarkūh, now Abarqūh. [12] I.e. concealed her real feelings.

[13] *Shahnama* ed. Mohl, VII, 80, l. 917, with *bāgh* 'garden' for the first *jāi* 'place'.

said: 'Baraq is not to be trusted. We have discovered an opportunity of making away with him. Thou art the Sultan and we are thy obedient slaves.' However the goodness of his nature and the purity of his character would not allow him to violate solemn covenants, nor the strength of his faith to break oaths; and he did nothing in this matter.

> Do not always give way to gentleness; knit thy brow when occasion demands.
>
> When thy object may not be gained by gentle means, in that case roughness is better than gentleness.

But the time having come for the decline of their house and the rise of a dynasty of rebels, one of Ghiyas-ad-Din's most confidential attendants privately informed Baraq of this matter, and he at once questioned both his own kinsmen and Ghiyas-ad-Din. They admitted to the conspiracy, and he first of all commanded his relations to be cut limb from limb that very hour in the presence of everybody and likewise gave orders for the detention of the Sultan and all who were connected with him. Then, a week or two later, they put a rope round the Sultan's neck to strangle him. He cried out: 'After all, did we not make a covenant not to plot against each other? How canst thou justify the breach of that covenant when there has been no hasty action?' His mother heard her son's voice and realized that he had placed his neck in the noose. In sorrow and compassion for her child she was unable to restrain herself and began to moan and wail. She too was strangled; and in the same manner they cast the whole of his army into the furnace of calamity, breaking their covenants, falsifying their oaths and throwing dust into the eyes of their good faith.

> [207] *They were content to—*[14] *what they lacked from ignorance, and fairness of speech comes from fairness of deed.*

How long, O circling Heavens, with your tricks and jugglery, how long with your tyranny and oppression will ye cast Sultans into the bonds of Satans, and make base churls lords over noble emirs, and cast kings into wells, and raise worthless persons from

[14] The text has ṢFAT (*ṣifāt* ?).

the plank of abasement and set them upon the throne of honour.
And, O my wise but careless friend, take advice from these words that thou fall not into the bonds of imperious passion, and look at these happenings with the eye of attention, and draw back thy feet lest the gallows be the resting-place of thy head.

To know about this base world it is enough for thee [to see] the elevation of slaves therein and the debasement of noble men.
Men of honour are under its shoes and scabby wretches are upon its hump.
Against the arrows discharged by the thumb of Destiny there is no shield save the eyes and hearts of loved ones.
All the griefs and tribulations that appear from the heavens pass only by the wretched abode of the stranger.
Everyone enters a door at last when night comes—unhappy stranger who has not house or door!
The sigh which the exile heaves in his grief, there are no sparks in the nethermost pit like that sigh.
The tears which the stranger rains from his eyes are nought but bile and the blood of the liver.
See that thou sneer not at the case of strangers, for thou hast no knowledge of the griefstricken breast of strangers.

[XXIV]

[208] OF SULTAN RUKN-AD-DIN

When Sultan Muhammad returned from Iraq he assigned that kingdom to his son Rukn-ad-Din, whose name was Ghur-Sanji,[1] together with equipage and accoutrement worthy of such a kingdom and such a Sultan, and [209] in his suite he dispatched 'Imad-al-Mulk of Sava to act as *atabeg* and administer the country. When Rukn-ad-Din reached Ray the local rulers in Iraq united in rebellion against him, and Sultan Muhammad sent Sharaf-ad-Din, the *amir-i-majlis,* who was a eunuch *(khādim),* with an army to his son's assistance. He attacked and defeated the enemy and took prisoner most of the emirs of Iraq. How-

[1] 'A colic to the Ghur.' (V.M.) According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 46) and Juzjani (Raverty, 281) he was given this name to commemorate his father's defeat of the Ghurid Shihab-ad-Din.

ever he did no harm to any of them but spared them all; and by restoring their power and sparing their lives of which they had lost hope he passed over the faults and errors of all and also allotted a fief or a province to each of them. Because of this kindness they all became loyal and cleansed their minds from contention.

When the news arrived that Sultan Muhammad had fled from Transoxiana, Rukn-ad-Din sent 'Imad-al-Mulk to him to attract him to Iraq by holding out hopes of assistance, and he himself went out to meet his father. However nothing could be achieved and, the Sultan having set out for Mazandaran, Rukn-ad-Din made for Kerman. With a small following he arrived in Guvashir,[2] where some of the troops of the *malik* of Zuzan had remained. At first they were overcome with fright and attempted to flee. Then recognizing that it was Sultan Rukn-ad-Din they hastened to pay their respects; and people approached him out of every corner. He opened the treasury of the *malik* of Zuzan and gave its contents to the troops. And from thence he again set out for Iraq.

Upon his arrival in Isfahan there collected around him scattered groups of soldiers and isolated commanders, and so he gathered strength. [210] However the cadi of Isfahan felt insecure and held aloof, behaving with caution and circumspection. Sultan Rukn-ad-Din for his part thought it best not to remain inside the town: he departed and pitched his tents outside. However, the troops were constantly coming and going, and the populace, on the cadi's orders, raised a tumult and rained down stones and arrows from the rooftops. Nearly a thousand men were killed or wounded, and Rukn-ad-Din's troops for their part slew large numbers of the townspeople. On this account Rukn-ad-Din left Isfahan for Ray, where he remained for two months. When the Mongol army, led by . . .,[3] again arrived he departed to the castle of Firuzkuh.[4] The

[2] I.e. the town of Kerman. See above, p. 417, n. 22.

[3] There is a blank in A and B.

[4] According to Nasawi (tr. Houdas, 119) Ustūnāvand, which like Fīrūzkūh was a famous stronghold in the Damavand region.

Mongols laid siege to it and after five or six months forced him to come down with all the people of the castle. For all their pressure he refused to kneel on the ground in fealty; and finally they put him to death together with all his followers and the garrison of the castle.

When are these tricks which Fate produces time and again from under the juggler's cup of the Heavens with such legerdemain that her hand cannot be seen? Or without interposing her hand she sets that poison-tasting cup in the hand [of her victim], and no opportunity is afforded to cast the dice again *(dast bar dast)*. O friend, this affair is beyond remedy. Lay not thy finger on it lest thou suffer harm. Plant thy foot firmly in the centre of resignation and trust in God that thou fall not. And step not forward lest thy foot be caught.

[XXV]

OF BARAQ HAJIB AND THE CONQUEST OF THE REGION OF KERMAN

BARAQ HAJIB and his brother, Khamid-Bur,[1] were from Qara-Khitai, and during the reign of the Khan of Qara-Khitai Khamid-Bur was sent on various embassies to the Sultan. When Tayangu of Taraz was taken prisoner they were brought with him and attained to favour in the Sultan's service: Khamid-Bur gradually became an emir and Baraq was appointed a *hajib*. When the Sultan was going to Transoxiana he left Khamid-Bur in Bokhara with several thousand men: at the beginning of the interregnum he too passed away. As for Baraq he went to Ghiyas-ad-Din in Iraq and entered his service, becoming one of his chief emirs and receiving the title of *qutlugh-khan*. After the corroboration of covenants and oaths Ghiyas-ad-Din appointed him commander of Isfahan.

When news arrived of the approach of a Mongol army led by Tolan Cherbi[2] he sought Ghiyas-ad-Din's permission to

[1] See above, i, 103, n. 17.

[2] TWLAN JRBY. The Tolun Cherbi of the *Secret History* and Rashid-ad-Din. He belonged to the Qongqotan tribe and according to Rashid-ad-

[212] go to Isfahan and then proceed to India with his followers by way of Kerman. When he came to Jiruft [3] and Kamadi [4] the young men in the castle of Juvashir prevailed upon Shuja'-ad-Din Abul-Qasim to pursue and attack them and carry off Khitayan slaves. Between five and six thousand men set out regarding them as so much quarry, nay considering them a table set for dining. And when this host drew near, Baraq Hajib and his men realized that the moment had arrived; and he ordered the women also to put on men's clothes and prepare for battle. The enemy divided into four groups and attacked from four sides. A detachment of Turks in Shuja'-ad-Din's force went over to Baraq on account of their racial affinity. Nearby were two walled villages *(ḥiṣār),* one called Harq [5] and the other 'Abbasi. Shuja'-ad-Din's men made for these villages in order to take refuge therein. Baraq's Turks charged down upon them like the flashing lightning that cleaves the clouds and separated the Taziks from one another, leaving many of them dead on the plain. Shuja'-ad-Din with some of his men took refuge in the walled village. They were besieged for a day or two and having no stores came out of the village. Shuja'-ad-Din was made prisoner and placed in heavy chains; and Baraq Hajib then turned back and went to Juvashir. Shuja'-ad-Din was brought in his chains to the gates of the town *(ḥiṣār)* that his son might ransom his life by surrendering the castle. The son ignored him, and he was put to death; and they began to lay siege to both the town and the castle.

A sentinel deserted from the castle [and said] [213] that he

Din (Khetagurov, 168) was, like Sögetü (see above, i, 91, n. 2), a brother of the shaman Teb-Tengri. With Sögetü he was among the first five officers appointed to the post of *cherbi.* See the *Secret History,* §191, Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol,* 158. After fighting at Gurganj and in Afghanistan (see Barthold, *Turkestan,* 433 and 442) he had taken part in the final campaign against the Tangut and, according to the *Secret History,* § 267, had been responsible for the execution of the ruler of that people. See Grousset, *op. cit.* 279–80, and cf. Rashid-ad-Din tr. Smirnova, 233.

[3] The ruins of Jīruft are known as Shahr-i-Daqiyānūs, 'the Town of the Emperor Decius'. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* 314–15.

[4] Kamādī, the Camadi of Marco Polo, was a suburb of Jīruft.

[5] ḤRQ. The spelling is quite uncertain.

would show them an unguarded route to it and introduce their army into it by this route. Baraq encouraged him with many promises but cautiously did not place full confidence in his words and asked for a written undertaking. The next night the man went to the castle and secretly brought down a girl *(sar-pūshīda)* [6] that he had there and took the men up by the route he had mentioned. At dawn they beat their drums and raised a yell, seized the castle and flung open the gates. Baraq sent his heavy baggage there the same day; and they then laid siege to Shujaʿ-ad-Din's son who was in the town *(ḥiṣār)*.

Suddenly there came news of Jalal-ad-Din's approaching from the direction of India. Baraq Hajib sent refreshments of every kind on in advance and then hastened to present himself in person and to offer the Sultan the hand of one of his daughters. When the Sultan arrived and his marriage with Baraq's daughter had been solemnized, he sent messengers to Shujaʿ-ad-Din's son to announce his arrival and summon him to his presence. He replied that he would not trust them till he saw the Sultan's parasol with his own eyes. The Sultan rode in person in front of the town *(ḥiṣār)* and he at once prepared to hasten to his presence sending presents of every kind on in advance. He then took a sword and donned a shroud and waited upon the Sultan. He was viewed with the eye of favour and indulgence, and the Sultan entered the town.

Baraq accompanied the Sultan into the town. One day the latter went out hunting with the greater part of his followers but Baraq refused to leave the town on the pretext of being ill. The Sultan realized that he had remained behind in order to plan rebellion; and wishing to test him he sent a messenger to summon him to his presence for the purpose of consultation on matters of importance. Baraq replied that he had conquered those territories with the sword and that they were not the place for a royal residence. Those strongholds would need to be in safe hands, and he was an old servant and by meritorious services [214] had acquired rights. He was now advanced in years and had no longer the strength to move about. It was his intention

[6] Lit. 'one whose head is covered'. The meaning is not certain.

to pray for the Sultan's august house in that castle and if the Sultan wished to enter it would not be possible.

Being pressed for time the Sultan sent a conciliatory reply and then set out for Shiraz.

Baraq Hajib consolidated his position. He seized all that region and became possessed of great stores of equipment. After putting to death Sultan Ghiyas-ad-Din who had sought his aid and protection—

> *Like one who appeals to the fire to shield him from the scorching earth*—[7]

he sent a messenger to the Commander of the Faithful to announce his conversion to Islam and to beg that he might be honoured with the title of Sultan. His request was granted and he was accorded the honour of being addressed as *qutlugh-sultan* And so his power increased daily and his troops and following grew in number until the time when the emirs who were laying siege to Sistan [8] under the command of Tayir Bahadur sent a messenger to him calling upon him to tender submission and asking for troops and assistance. Now Baraq Hajib was a shrewd man and he realized that the power was now in the hands of the seed of Chingiz-Khan. His reception of the messengers therefore was to accept their command and to submit himself thereto and by humbling himself to seek protection from the suffering of calamities. He replied that he would deal with Sistan with his own men without incommoding the Mongol army; but that being himself advanced in years and no longer capable of travel he would send his son to attend at Court. He made preparations as he had said and in the year . . .[9] dispatched Rukn-ad-Din Khoja Mubarak to Qa'an.

[7] The second half of a famous line quoted in the story of the War of Basūs. (M.Q.) On this war of the pre-Islamic Bedouin see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 55–60.

[8] Perhaps Zaranj, the capital of Sistan, is meant. See le Strange, *op. cit.*, 335.

[9] There is a blank in most MSS. According to the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, etc., Baraq died in Zul-Qa'da, 632 [July–August, 1235], and since Rukn-ad-Din had not yet reached the *ordu* of Ögedei when he learnt of his father's death, his departure for the *ordu* must have taken place during the same year, viz. 632, or a little earlier. (M.Q.)

Rukn-ad-Din had not yet reached his destination [215] when he received news of his father's death and the assumption of the government of Kerman by his cousin on his father's side, Qutb-ad-Din. However, he did not halt until he had arrived at Court. Qa'an, as was his natural wont, showed him all kinds of favours, and because he had been the first to reach Court and behold the face of the Emperor he gave him the kingdom of Kerman and issued a *yarligh* conferring upon him his father's title of *qutlugh-sultan*. Chinqai was made his tutor and orders were given that Qutb-ad-Din should present himself at Court and wait upon the Emperor. When Rukn-ad-Din returned Qutb-ad-Din set out with his heavy baggage. Taking the road to Khavis [10] he came to Zuzan, from whence he proceeded to Court. He remained for a time in attendance [on Qa'an] and then orders were given that he should go to Khitai and join the service of Mahmud Yalavach. In obedience to these orders he resided for a considerable time with Yalavach, who viewed him with a father's eye, treating him with honour and respecting his rank.

When Güyük Khan's *quriltai* was held Qutb-ad-Din Sultan also attended and wished to resume the rule of the sultanate. But Chinqai, being the tutor of the *qutlugh-sultan* Rukn-ad-Din, prevented this and orders were given that he should still—as previously at Qa'an's command—remain in attendance upon the Minister *(ṣāḥib)* Yalavach, and that Sultan Rukn-ad-Din should continue in the position to which he had been appointed.

Rukn-ad-Din therefore still held the territory of Kerman and delivered the tribute that had been fixed in *balish* and camels to the emirs appointed to receive it until [216] the throne of the Empire was honoured by the accession of Mengü Qa'an. Qutb-ad-Din then proceeded to Court in the company of the Minister Yalavach, and Mengü Qa'an received him kindly and granted him many favours. He bestowed the sultanate of that region [11] upon him and sent a Mongol to accompany him as

[10] Khavīṣ or Khabīṣ (the usual spelling), now Shāh-Dād, to the east of Kerman on the edge of the Dasht-i-Lūt.

[11] I.e. Kerman.

basqaq. When they reached Herat Qutb-ad-Din sent messengers on in advance to Rukn-ad-Din to inform him of the favour shown him by the Emperor of the World and to summon him to listen to the *yarligh*.

Rukn-ad-Din realized that times had changed. He sent back the messengers and in Ramazan of the year 650 [December 1252 —January 1253] removed such of his goods as he could and accompanied by those of his following who had reason to fear Qutb-ad-Din, set out for Luristan. From Yezd he was joined by his sister's son 'Ala-ad-Daula [12] accompanied by his mother; and it was reported that they were making for Baghdad and had sent a message to the Commander of the Faithful . . .[13] However they did not know what course to follow, for if [the Caliph] should admit them their relations [with Mengü Qa'an] might become even worse. Accordingly Rukn-ad-Din left the greater part of his baggage in Luristan and set out in person for Court. When he reached Girdkuh, the animals having been turned loose to fodder in the cornfields in the middle of the day, the Heretics sent a party of men to catch them unawares during the siesta while their horses were grazing and to cause them to taste the drink of destruction. [217] Rukn-ad-Din was awake, and when that band of wretches arrived he mounted horse together with some five or six persons whose horses were saddled and fought with great vigour until his companions had got on their horses and joined him; when they slew the greater part of the Heretics and went their way. The next day Buqa came up, and because of this battle he held Rukn-ad-Din in high esteem and treated him with great respect. And from thence he proceeded to the Court of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an. (I chanced to meet him whilst in Almaligh in Ramazan, 651 [October–November, 1253] when returning from the great *ordu* of Mengü Qa'an: the traces of fear and dread prevailed upon him, and the lights of fortune and prosperity had deserted him.)

[12] The future *atabeg* of Yezd (670/1271–2–*circa* 685/1286–7). See Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, 231.

[13] A and B have a blank for the name of a Caliph. C has—wrongly—an-Nasir li-Din-Allah. The ruling Caliph at that time was al-Musta'sim billah. (M.Q.)

When he reached Mengü Qa'an there came a message from Qutb-ad-Din to report on his proceeding in the direction of Baghdad; and Qutb-ad-Din followed in person. They were both of them questioned and in the end Rukn-ad-Din was handed over to Qutb-ad-Din to execute what Fate and Destiny had pre-ordained for him; and he put him to the sword of annihilation. Qutb-ad-Din now thought the kingdom of Kerman to be cleansed of the stain of tyranny and considered Fortune, contrary to her wont, to be a faithful mistress. Arriving at his capital and having subdued all the surrounding territories he had on several occasions visited the Court of Hülegü and had been distinguished by all manner of favours, [218] when suddenly Death charged out from the ambush of Fortune and in the year 656/1258 he passed away.

> If thou hast rested in comfort all thy life
> And tasted the pleasures of the world all thy life,
> Yet in the end thou must depart and then
> 'Tis but a dream thou hast dreamt all thy life.

[XXVI]

OF CHIN-TEMÜR AND HIS GOVERNORSHIP OF KHORASAN AND MAZANDARAN

THE first emir to be appointed governor of Khorasan and Mazandaran was Chin-Temür, who was by origin a Qara-Khitayan [1] and had been made *basqaq* of Khorazm by Tushi at the time when that place was conquered. When the World-Emperor Qa'an appointed Chormaghun to the Fourth Clime [2] he issued a *yarligh* that the leaders and *basqaqs* on every side should accompany the levy and render assistance to Chormaghun; and

[1] See above, i, 88, n. 7.

[2] 'The FOURTH CLIME begins in the East and runs across the lands of Tibet, then Khorasan and Transoxiana, the territories of 'Irāq and Daylam, some of the lands of Syria and Rūm, then it cuts through the Syrian Sea, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the lands of Maghrib, and runs through the territory of Ṭanja (Tanger) to end in the Sea of Maghrib.' (Marvazi, 13–14.) The Moslem geographers followed the Greeks in dividing the earth into seven climes See Marvazi, *loc. cit.*, and Minorsky's Commentary, 63–4.

Chin-Temür set out from Khorazm by way of Shahristana and at the same time placed at Chormaghun's disposal other emirs representing the princes. So too Chormaghun placed at his disposal an emir to represent every prince and prince's son, Kül-Bolat [3] representing Qa'an, Nosal [4] Batu, Qizil-Buqa [5] [219] Chaghatai and Yeke [6] Sorqotani Beki. At that time Körgüz [7] was a member of Chin-Temür's following, in which he gradually attained to the office of chamberlain.

Chin-Temür called upon all the territories that lay across his path to submit—places such as Yazir, Nisa, Kukrukh [8] and Jaristan;[9] and by a show of kindness he brought them into the noose of obedience; some that rebelled he attacked and reduced by force of arms.

Chormaghun had left Khorasan in a state of turmoil. Some places he had taken and set *basqaqs* over them, while others had not yet thrust their necks into the collar of submission. Rebels and Turks would appear on every side and cast confusion amongst the people; and the scum and rabble *(runūd va aubāsh)* would gain the upper hand so that an area which had been pacified and subdued would relapse into chaos because of these troubles and disturbances. Thus Qaracha and Yaghan-Sonqur, two of Sultan Jalal-ad-Din's emirs, used to make raids on Nishapur and its dependencies; and since men's minds were still [220] exercised by reports about the Sultan there was no peace in that

[3] KLBLAT, for which Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, VII, 150) has KWL BLAT. The name means 'Glorious Steel'. He was a Naiman according to Rashid-ad-Din (Berezin, *loc. cit.*, Khetagurov, 142).

[4] On Nosal see below, Chapter XXVII, and on the spelling of his name Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 54–5.

[5] 'Red Bull.'

[6] Reading YYKH for the YYKH of the text. *yeke* in Mongol means 'great'.

[7] On Korgüz see below, Chapters XXVIII and XXIX. On a later Körgüz (the name is the Turkish form of George), the son-in-law of Qubilai's grandson and successor, Temür Öljeitü (1295–1307), see Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 362 and 371.

[8] Kūkrūkh or Kū-Kurūkh. There is a Kurukh in North-Western Afghanistan. (V.M.)

[9] The vowel of the first syllable is uncertain. Tabari, II, 1605–13, speaks of a JRYSTAN in Southern Gūzgān where, in 120/783 the Arabs defeated the Turkish Khaqan. (V.M.)

region. An emir would suddenly appear in a district and build a castle on a hilltop. That man would attack this, and this man seize and kill that; and the *basqaqs* set up everywhere by Chormaghun were slain by Qaracha and his Turks, who used to lay hands on everyone who breathed the breath of submission to the Mongols.

It was on this account that Chin-Temür sent Kül Bolat to Nishapur to put an end to Qaracha. My father together with some of the notables and leading men recited the verse of flight from that town and left for Tus. Now at that time there was a person from the inner town of Tus called Taj-ad-Din Farizani [10] who outdid all the unbelievers in massacring and treachery and who had seized a castle in Tus. When my father and the leading men arrived there, they sent a trustworthy person to him to announce their presence and to inquire about asylum, for '*a drowning man hangs on to anything*'. He encouraged them with false promises, and relying on his insincere word they set out and came to that castle.

> *He that in his distress seeks the protection of 'Amr is*
> *like one that seeks the protection of fire from the*
> *scorching earth.*[11]

When Kül-Bolat came back after routing Qaracha he heard of the departure of these people and sent a messenger to Farizani to demand their return. The latter dispatched them to him thinking that Kül-Bolat would put them to death. Instead he welcomed my father and the chief men with every kind of attention, and my father composed a *qit'a* on the subject to the following effect:

> *I arrived on an embassy to Farizani, whose acts speak of*
> *the feebleness of his intellect:*
> *His discourse is base and full of vileness: it is beneath*
> *the dignity of narrators [to relate] even what is easiest*
> *to relate.*

[10] Reading Farīzanī for the Farīzana'ī of the text, which below (as B, C and E here) has Farīzanī. According to Yaqut Farīzan was a village just outside Herat.

[11] This is the whole of the line of which the second half is quoted above. II, 214 [ii, 479]. (M.Q.)

[221] When news of all this confusion and unrest reached Qa'an rage flared up in his nature to such an extent that he commanded Tayir Bahadur to lead an army from Badghis and deal with Qaracha: such as had [hitherto] escaped the sword were to be cast upon the wind of annihilation, no one was to be left alive in the lands of Khorasan and their dwellings and habitations were to be flooded with water so that no remains or trace thereof might survive. This is a well-known proverb: 'The wolf must be taught to sew, but he can tear very well already.' And in this very fashion the [Mongol] army was to seek slaughter and rapine [even] in the earth: and so with the speed of fire they went forth from Badghis.

They had proceeded half way when news reached Tayir Bahadur that Kül-Bolat had routed Qaracha and driven him out of Khorasan; and that he had now departed to Sistan,[14] where he had made the citadel his stronghold. Tayir Bahadur proceeded thither and laid siege to the town; but it took nearly two years of toil and fatigue before he captured it. He then sent messengers from Sistan to Chin-Temür to say that the administration of Khorasan had by virtue of a *yarligh* of Qa'an been vested in him and that Chin-Temür should relax his control thereof. Chin-Temür replied that the report of a revolt by the people of Khorasan was false and that there had been motives of self-interest in the presentation of this report. How, for the sins of Qaracha, could so many lands and peoples be made to drink the draught of annihilation and a province which had taken years of toil and trouble to make some little recovery be needlessly destroyed a second time? He too would send a messenger to report on the situation and the matter would be dealt with in accordance with the orders received. But in the meanwhile he, Chin-Temür, would allow no harm to be done to anyone of the people of those parts. Tayir's ambassadors returned angry and disappointed.

Chormaghun, for his part, had sent messengers to summon Chin-Temür and the aforementioned emirs to join him with their armies and to leave Khorasan and Mazandaran to Tayir

[14] See above, p. 479, n. 8.

Bahadur. But how shall one who has for a day been an emir [222] again become an underling ? How shall a man who has been in charge of important affairs submit to the performance of menial tasks ? And how shall the master become the servant ? Chin-Temür consulted his friends and confidants as to how this blow might be warded off, and it was agreed that Kül-Bolat, who was one of the confidential attendants on the Emperor of the Face of the Earth, should go [to Court] taking with him some of the emirs of Khorasan who had already submitted. In the meantime the late *malik*, Baha-ad-Din of Su'luk,[13] had sent down his brother from the castle and made his submission conditional upon his being sent to Qa'an when he came out of the castle. This fitted in with their own plans. Chin-Temür returned from Mazandaran, and most places in Khorasan, hearing of the submission of the emirs of Su'luk, themselves also tendered submission, while those whose skirt had been plucked by Death and who did not come forward, were utterly wiped out. And when the *malik* Nizam-ad-Din [14] arrived back at the castle, the *malik* Baha-ad-Din set out on his journey. When he came to Chin-Temür the latter showed him every kind of honour; and from Mazandaran there was designated the *isfahbad* Nusrat-ad-Din of Kabud-Jama;[15] and they left for Court together in the company of Kül-Bolat. (These events took place in the year 630/1232–3.) Since these two were the first to present themselves from the lands to the west of Transoxiana, Qa'an was greatly delighted and ordered feasts to be held and banquets to go on for days on end. And on this account he distinguished Chin-Temür and Kül-Bolat with all manner of favours, saying: 'During all this time since Chormaghun went and conquered so many great countries he has sent no *malik* to us, whereas Chin-Temür, though his territory be of small extent and his resources few, has served us thus. We approve of him and have placed the governorship of Khorasan and Mazandaran firmly in his hands. Let Chor-

[13] On the castle of Ṣu'lūk to the north of Isfarayin, see above, i, 155, n. 7.
[14] Evidently the brother of the *malik* Baha-ad-Din mentioned above. (M.Q.)
[15] See above, i, 351, n. 3.

maghun and the other emirs [223] relax their hold thereon.' And he made Kül-Bolat Chin-Temür's partner in command and conferred upon the *isfahbad* the rank of *malik* over all the territory from the frontier of Kabud-Jama to beyond Astarabad, at the same time appointing the *malik* Baha-ad-Din *malik* of Khorasan, [i.e., of][16] Isfarayin, Juvain, Jajarm, Jurbad[17] and Arghiyan,[18] of which places Khorasan then consisted.[19] He gave them each a golden *paiza* and a mandate with an *al-tamgha*; and he showed mercy and compassion to the people of Khorasan and spared the survivors. And by the grace of God—for '*the mercy which God layeth open for man, no one can keep back*'[20]—Khorasan, through the care and solicitude of Chin-Temür and by reason of the submission of the late lamented *malik* Baha-ad-Din, remained secure from the blows of Fate; and such few people as had escaped by the fleetness of their feet from a thousand calamities and had by a thousand toils and trials saved their heads from the sword, in hope of life now submitted themselves to the will of Destiny and bowed their necks to the strokes of the revolving Heavens.

Chin-Temür, being now confirmed in his office by the *yarligh*, appointed Sharaf-ad-Din,[21] on account of his seniority, to be vizier representing Batu. He likewise appointed my father *sahib-divan*; and each of the other emirs sent a *bitikchi* to the Divan to represent the princes. Having restored the Divan to a fairly flourishing condition he deputed Körgüz to go on an embassy to the Court of Qa'an accompanied by my father. He[22] left the late Nizam-ad-Din as his deputy in the Divan and set out on the journey. When he[23] came to Qa'an, the latter, upon learning who they each were, questioned Körgüz about the state

[16] The text has *va* 'and', for which in B there has been substituted by a later hand *khuṣūṣan* 'especially'.

[17] Jūrbad, according to Yaqut, was a village in the Isfarayin district.

[18] Arghiyān was the district around Jajarm.

[19] What is meant perhaps is that only this region, in the extreme north-west of Khorasan, was not still lying desolate as the result of the Mongol invasion.

[20] Koran, xxv, 2.

[21] On Sharaf-ad-Din see below, Chapter XXXII.

[22] I.e. Juvaini's father. (M.Q.)

[23] I.e. apparently Körgüz.

of the province. He gave his report in accordance with the Emperor's taste; and Qa'an approved both the manner and the matter of his statement. He also showed favour to my father and gave him a *paiza* and a *yarligh* with an *al-tamgha*. [224] He likewise conferred on him the rank of *sahib-divan* of the lands *(mamālik)*; and my father was distinguished with further marks of his condescension and kindness.

When they returned from the *ordu* with their wishes gratified Chin-Temür had passed away with his hopes of rank and wealth disappointed. His death occurred in the year 633/1235–6.

[XXVII]

OF NOSAL

WHEN Chin-Temür had passed away a message was sent to report his death to the World-Emperor Qa'an, and the decree was issued that Nosal, an aged Mongol [1] more than a hundred years old, should succeed him as emir. By virtue of that decree the emirs, the scribes in the Divans and the ministers *(aṣḥāb)* transferred themselves from Chin-Temür's house to Nosal's encampment, where the business of the Divan was again taken up. Sharaf-ad-Din departed to the Court of Batu, and Körgüz, as usual, travelled to and fro [between the various *ordus*].

It was at this juncture that the *malik* Baha-ad-Din again set out for the Court of Qa'an together with Mahmud Shah of Sabzavar on account of a dispute in which they were involved regarding Baihaq and also for other reasons. Baha-ad-Din laid his case before Qa'an, who decreed that as no adversary was present a definite decision could not be reached in the matter. He should therefore go back again in order to return accompanied by his adversaries so that the case might be fully investigated. And again a *yarligh* was issued and communicated through the *malik* Baha-ad-Din regarding my father and the confirmation of his office.

When the *malik* Baha-ad-Din arrived back and they heard the

[1] He actually belonged to the Tübe'üt clan of the Kereit. See Rashid-ad-Din tr. Khetagurov, 141, also Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 54–5.

terms of the *yarligh,* Nosal and Kül-Bolat were not pleased that Körgüz had been sent for. When the latter set off [225] Nosal remained in office, but when he returned, the control and administration of the province was taken away from him and he contented himself with the command of the army until the year 637/1239–40, when he too followed his other friends to the place from which there is no returning.

[XXVIII]

OF KÖRGÜZ

HIS birthplace was a small village four parasangs from Besh-Baligh called Barligh [1] in the western part of the Uighur country on the route followed by travellers through that region. In the year 651/1253–4, when returning from the *ordu* of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an we rested for a while in this place by way of siesta and I recalled to mind something that had been effaced from the page of my memory, viz. a single *bait* which the late Nizam-ad-Din 'Ali as-Sadid of Baihaq had composed and recited to me *à propos* of Körgüz when passing through that village:

> *In the morning we halted in the church of Barligh; it became clear to me that* men *come from villages.*

And then, in that very moment, I added to that *bait,* which was the expression of his inner conviction, other verses in the same metre although not equal to it:

> *And I knew of a certainty that a man rises by his endeavour and resolve: 'the generous man, if he be generous . . .'* [2]
> *And his good stock will not avail an ignoramus if he descend from a high mountain.*
> *Therefore strive to attain glory and deep-rooted honour and be not garrulous—a judgement has already been passed.*

[1] Reading BRLYГ with E for the YRLYГ of the text. It is the Bārlugh of the *Ḥudūd,* 94, which, as Minorsky surmised, *ibid.,* 272, lay to the west of Besh-Balïgh.

[2] For the whole of the *bait* of which the first half is here quoted see above, i, 275.

[226] *And if he attain to the eminence to which he had aspired, that is a young tree whose time has come to bear fruit.*
And if he be disappointed of what he had hoped for, and his desires deceive—for Fate is cruel to mankind—
The husbandman is excused if his field be well sown but the rains miss it and it is not watered thereby;
And the warrior is excused on the battle-field if his colt stumble among the ranks.
Therefore bestir thyself so that no reproacher may reproach thee, though the Lord of Creation decree that which was preordained.

I questioned the inhabitants of the village about his parentage. They said that his father was a man of the people who had died while Körgüz was still a child. He was left with no one but a step-mother, who on account of the tenderness of his age and his impoverished state paid no attention to him. When some time had passed since his father's death her hand was sought by a stranger who was about to marry her when Körgüz approached the *idi-qut* and recounted the circumstances of the case. It is the custom of the Mongols and Uighur for the son to have authority over his father's wife and to marry her; and the *idi-qut* now enforced the ancient custom. However, Körgüz afterwards renounced his right taking only a little property and allowing a stranger to obtain her hand. He then concerned himself with learning the Uighur script in which he soon became skilled. Having conceived a lofty ambition he refused to be satisfied with the baseness of contentment and the shame of lowliness. But the cloak of his wealth was not large enough for him to escape therein from the land of distress nor had he the wherewithal to [227] procure the provisions for a journey. He had no connection to whose skirt he might cling, nor a kinsman to save him from the privations of poverty, nor a friend to assist and support him by means of a gift or loan.

I was prevented from enduring oppression by the range of my ambition, and the level of my hopes, and the plane of my recreation.

In this grievous predicament his cousin on his father's side

called Besh-Qulach [3] was intermediary on his behalf with a cultivator, from whom Körgüz borrowed the price of a horse giving his cousin's person as bond.[4] He purchased a horse and set out for the *ordu* of Batu.[5] Upon arriving there he joined the service of one of the emirs of the Court, being appointed a herdsman. Some little time elapsed and Körgüz having shown signs of his ability in that employment he was taken from it by the emir to wait upon his person. Time went by and he became a favourite. When he had gone on a hunt with his emir in attendance on Tushi a *yarligh* arrived from the Court of Chingiz-Khan, the contents of which were matter for pleasure and rejoicing. None of the secretaries being present to read the *yarligh* a search was made among the attendants for someone who knew the [Uighur] script. Körgüz was pointed out and he was taken before Tushi. He read out the *yarligh* observing the requisite etiquette in a manner not to be expected from the likes of a stirrup-holder *(rikābī)* or outside servant *(bīrūnī)*. His manner and delivery pleased Tushi, who ordered him to be enrolled among the secretaries. By showing respect to the emirs and fulfilling the requirements of etiquette and service he grew [in influence] and the signs of prosperity became daily more apparent upon his affairs. Becoming famous for his skill in writing and his eloquence he was appointed to instruct the Mongol children. And when Chin-Temür was deputed to be *basqaq* of Urganch he was sent to accompany him. He remained in attendance on him and displayed his ability and intelligence in the tasks entrusted to him [228] until he enjoyed his full confidence and attained to the rank of chamberlain and deputy to Chin-Temür himself. The latter sent him to wait upon Qa'an, and when Qa'an questioned him about himself, his replies pleased him and those present were filled with wonder thereat. The talk came round to the subject of the districts of Khorasan and Qa'an asked him about the spring, summer and

[3] BYŠ QLAJ. Lit. 'Five Fathom'.

[4] On the practice of mortgaging one's own person see the Uighur documents in Radloff and Malov, *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler*. (V.M.)

[5] Though, as appears from the sequel, Batu's father Tushi (Jöchi) was still alive.

winter pastures. He answered as follows: 'The servants of the Emperor's realm live in comfort and luxury, and the bird of their hearts flies over the horizon of well-being. The winter retreats are like the season of spring, each with every kind of narcissus and fragrant herb like the pleasance on high; and the mountains in summer are equal to the Garden of Paradise with every kind and variety of blessing and the songs of all manner of birds singing in unison.' When he spoke in this fashion displaying his language in the garb of praise and thanksgiving, the reliance of Qa'an upon his counsel, sagacity, intelligence and ability increased, and the Emir Chinqai also, because Körgüz was an Uighur [6] and had sought his protection as soon as he arrived at the Court of Qa'an, supported the latter's words when he showed favour to Körgüz. And so Körgüz departed loaded with honours *(soyurghamishī va navākht)*.

His arrival in Khorasan coincided with the death of Chin-Temür. He was succeeded by Nosal, on whom Körgüz continued to be in regular attendance until the *malik* Baha-ad-Din arrived from the Court of Qa'an to deliver the decree that he was to be sent to report on the affairs of Khorasan. Nosal and Kül-Bolat were unwilling for him to go for they guessed from his actions that if he again went to Court the verdure of their livelihood would wither away and the food of their lives be rendered noxious by his presence. As for Körgüz himself he had been thinking how he might find a way of getting himself to the *ordu*. Having now this opportunity he began to make preparations. One day, at this juncture, he went for my father, the *sahib-divan*, and said: 'Fortune is like a bird. No one knows on which branch it will alight. I will make the endeavour and find out [229] exactly what has been preordained and what is required by the revolution of the heavens.'

In the end Nosal and Kül-Bolat were obliged to agree to his going, and the *malik* Baha-ad-Din with Mahmud Shah and some of the leading men of Khorasan accompanied him. They spoke of the taxation, assessment and census of the provinces,

[6] The inference would seem to be that Chinqai too was an Uighur, but see Waley, *The Travels of an Alchemist*, 36–8.

especially Khorasan and Mazandaran, and of the arrears that were still outstanding. Though Chinqai favoured Körgüz, Danishmand Hajib and certain others wished to settle the authority on Chin-Temür's son. When the chief men of Khorasan were present and Körgüz also, Chinqai, who favoured his cause, waited for the opportunity of a private word [with Qa'an] and said: 'The chief men of Khorasan wish to have Körgüz.' Qa'an replied 'Perhaps then a *yarligh* may be written for him saying that as an experiment we have sent him to try to ascertain *(istikhrāj)* the extent of the produce of so many years and of the amount held back by each person; he is also to carry out a census; and no one is to interfere with him. When he returns if he has done his task well we shall know what to do.'

Upon obtaining this mandate Körgüz left the *ordu* like a hawk pouncing out of the sky and in a short time arrived in Khorasan and Mazandaran, where he caused the *yarligh* to be proclaimed. Then, forcing the secretaries and office-holders to come to him he busied himself with the work of government. As for Nosal, he was a simple man, decrepit with age and incapable of holding his own in a controversy; and if Kül-Bolat, who was a shrewd and experienced man, tried to make some objection, Körgüz would thrust the *yarligh* in his face and say: 'The decree says that no one is to interfere in my work. How then canst thou have any say in the matter?' It was a peremptory reply, and Kül-Bolat desisted from what he was doing. As for Nosal, although by the terms of the *yarligh* he had been dismissed, he was not removed from office.

Körgüz restored the affairs of Khorasan and Mazandaran to order and gave protection to property. From all sides he collected presents worthy of the Emperor. He carried out a new census and re-assessed the taxes. [230] He founded workshops and spread justice and equity amongst the people. No mortal could now touch water without rendering account and the covetousness of profiteers was disappointed. The capable and wise were distinguished from the foolish and ignorant; and the hope was born that the land might flourish [once again].

Sharaf-ad-Din had now arrived from the *ordu* of Batu. With Körgüz in power he and certain others were left without any authority, and some of them, as ministers of Chin-Temür, had actually been bound in the shackles of dismissal. They therefore worked upon Edgü-Temür,[7] the eldest son of Chin-Temür, saying that the office of the father should fall to the son, and that if he refrained from seeking the governorship now it would be difficult to dislodge Körgüz later when he was more firmly established. Edgü-Temür should seize the initiative before Körgüz had strengthened his position in the country and report his activities to the Court of Qa'an. Accordingly Edgü-Temür nominated Tonquz[8] and sent him to Court to make all sorts of false and slanderous charges. Certain persons, who were striving to discredit Chinqai, availed themselves of an occasion when he was absent to report these charges to Qa'an, and as a result the Emir Arghun, Qurbaqa[9] and Shams-ad-Din Kamargar were deputed to investigate [231] the matter.

When Körgüz learnt of the sending of a messenger he too made ready and set out [for Court] having appointed my father the *sahib-divan* to deputize for him as governor of the countries under his command. Upon reaching Fanakat he was met by the messengers who had come to investigate the position. When Körgüz refused to turn back at their suggestion Tonquz started a brawl with him and behaved in such a manner that they grappled with each other and he broke Körgüz's teeth. In the night Körgüz sent his blood-stained clothes by the hand of Temür to be shown at Court. Then, of necessity, he turned back. When he reached his house all the Mongol emirs, such as Kül-Bolat, Edgü-Temür and Nosal, gathered together and with clubs drove the *bitikchis*, *maliks* and ministers *(aṣḥāb)* out of Körgüz's house and took them to their own encampments, where they began the investigation.

Körgüz, while awaiting the return of Temür Elchi,[10] played

[7] 'Good Iron.' [8] 'Pig.'

[9] On his name see above, i, 243, n. 11.

[10] I.e. Temür the Messenger, the Temür just mentioned as having been sent by Körgüz to Ögedei.

for time and gave evasive answers, but some of the more foolhardy people from Mazandaran and elsewhere, disregarding their own safety and not considering the consequences, began to make absurd statements. On the second day Temür Elchi had in 45 days reached Sultan-Duvin [11] near Astarabad from beyond Qara-Qorum. An edict had been issued that all should present themselves at Court and that no inquiry should be conducted on the spot: the Emperor was exceedingly angry on account of Körgüz's blood-stained clothes.

Körgüz's supporters now turned the *maliks* and ministers out of Edgü-Temür's encampment; and Edgü-Temür's men mounted horse and clubbed them back again. In short, office-holders were in a perplexing position: if they supported Körgüz they were attacked by the messengers, whereas if they remained on good terms with them they had reason to fear Körgüz. Sharaf-ad-Din consorted with Edgü-Temür at night and supported [232] Körgüz by day.

Körgüz sent a message to his opponents to say that Temür Elchi had returned and that they must present themselves to hear the *yarligh* that had been issued. Then without waiting to hear what they had to say he mounted horse and rode to his house, from whence he set out for Court with some of the leading men of Khorasan who enjoyed his confidence and were persons of judgement and foresight.

When they learnt of his departure his opponents could not remain where they were; and Kül-Bolat and Edgü-Temür set out in the company of a number of tale-bearers and informers. They arrived all together in Bokhara, the *malik* of which, Sain-Malik-Shah, entertained them in his house. Kül-Bolat went outside to pass water. A band of *fida'is* who had been lying in

[11] Sulṭân-Duvîn (spelt wrongly Sulṭân Darîn in le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 376, also in his tr. of Hamdallah, 206) is the name of a hill between the Gurgan River and the Qara-Su. Minorsky, *Transcaucasica*, 43–5, lists a whole series of mounds called *duvin* in the Turcoman steppe near Astarabad; and he suggests, *ibid.*, 43, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 117, that the Arsacids, whose original home was in this south-eastern corner of the Caspian, may have introduced the word *duvīn* 'hill' into Armenia as the name of their capital, Dvin.

wait for him in Bokhara for some time past were seated in a corner in a vestibule. When he came out they stabbed him and several persons accompanying him, and Kül-Bolat himself was killed.

He had been the ringleader and mainstay of that party. Their spirit was broken by his death, and they were perplexed and bewildered, for in their childishness they had cast the felt of calamity into the water and could not draw it back to the shore. However, when they reached the *ordu*, they[12] first pitched the tent which Chin-Temür had built. Qa'an entered it and sat upon a throne, and they began to feast and be merry. Qa'an arose in order to [go outside and] make water. As he set his foot in the doorway of the tent a wind sprang up and tore it, and the tent-pole in falling injured one of his concubines. By that fire-like wind was the harvest of Edgü-Temür's prosperity consumed and his honour spilt upon the earth of abasement. Qa'an ordered the tent to be taken to pieces and given to the tent-pitchers and camel-drivers. A week later they[12] erected the tent which Körgüz had built, and in it were placed all the gifts and presents that he had brought as offerings. [233] On that day Qa'an's joviality was redoubled, and Körgüz's cause triumphed and his enemies were discomfited. Among the presents was a belt[13] studded with *'auz*[14] stones, which are also called jaundice stones,[15] made and devised by Körgüz himself and altogether priceless. Upon seeing it Qa'an, out of curiosity, fastened it round his waist. It so happened that he had a swelling (? *imtilā'*) in that region and it was cured. He

[12] The verb is in the singular in Juvaini but in the plural in the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 58); and this seems to be the meaning intended.

[13] It was perhaps a belt of this kind that the goldsmith William Buchier sent to Louis IX: 'Master William, once your subject, sends you a girdle ornamented with a precious stone, such as they wear against lightning and thunder.' (Rockhill, 254.)

[14] Reading 'WZ for the 'WR of the text. On *'auz* see Biruni, *Kitāb-al-Jamāhir fī Ma'rifat-al-Jawāhir*, Hyderabad, 1355/1926, p. 216. (V.M.)

[15] *sang i-yaraqān.* In Arabic *ḥajar-al-yarqān*: the *icterias* of Pliny. See Achundow, *Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze . . . des Abu Mansur Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi*, Halle, 1893, pp. 54 and 181. (V.M.)

took this as a good omen and said: 'Make another like it.' And he said to Edgü-Temür: 'Why didst not thou and thy father make *tangsuqs* [16] (that is, novelties or rareties) like this?'

In spite of such clear indications and obvious reproaches those who accompanied Edgü-Temür did not yet fling away their shields nor recognize where their interest lay.

The fool doeth what the wise man doeth in desperate times,
but doeth only after he hath been disgraced.

After they had remained there a while Qa'an ordered Chinqai, * Tainal [17] and some of the other chiefs of the *yarghu* to sit in judgement upon their case; and they set about this task. The men of Körgüz's party were persons of judgement and discretion and owners of wealth and property, *maliks,* like the *malik* Nizam-ad-Din of Isfarayin, Ikhtiyar-ad-Din of Abivard and 'Amid-al-Mulk Sharaf-ad-Din of Bistam, and secretaries, such as Nizam-ad-Din Shah and the like; and Körgüz himself was equal to a thousand men.

His enemies in their hosts consisted of individuals, but they
saw him among the individual warriors like the whole host.

He would consult with these people and then proceed in the manner upon which all were agreed. Important matters were concealed from Sharaf-ad-Din although ostensibly [234] Körgüz behaved in a friendly manner towards him.

As for Edgü-Temür he was very young and the sons of Kül-Bolat were mere children. Of his supporters two or three who were distinguished with the ornament of intelligence were conscious of the exigencies of the occasion and ventured upon no course of action from which it was impossible to draw back. As for the short-sighted, foolish Mazandaranis—a whole herd of these wearers of the *kulah-band* [18] could not do the work of a single man—they could neither utter a sensible word themselves nor repeat the words of others. Whenever anyone of them was questioned and examined, the decision went against him, though

[16] *tangsuq* is a Turkish adjective meaning 'rare', 'precious'.
[17] Reading TAYNAL with D for the TARNAL of the text.
[18] Apparently a kind of headdress. (M.Q.)

the reason for this was largely the favour of the Emperor and the kindness of the emirs—for '*the kindness of the judge is better than two just witnesses*', *and he spoke truth who said*: '*There is no government save through men, and no men save through money.*' And the two parties were in opposite positions, for while Körgüz had both men and money on his side, his adversaries were destitute of either.

Several months passed in this fashion, and no end being in sight the emirs grew tired of the *yarghu*. Qa'an then ordered the two parties to be mixed up together, one each of Körgüz's and Edgü-Temür's men sharing the same tent, eating out of the same bowl and sleeping in the same bed; so that Körgüz and Edgü-Temür themselves lived together under one roof and fed from one dish, and all their followers likewise. Qa'an also commanded that they should have no knives or iron weapons about them, and accordingly their knives and other arms were taken away from them. The Emperor's idea was that perhaps by night or day they might become reconciled and abandon their hostile claims. But since by this means also no reconciliation could be effected, Chinqai and [235] the *bitikchis* made a report on all the statements and occurrences; and one day Qa'an himself sat in judgement and again examined them in person. * Tümen [19] and his brother and the sons of Kül-Bolat knelt down with the rest of Edgü-Temür's following and underwent questioning. Qa'an's glance fell upon them and he shouted at them: 'What business have you amongst these people? Come out from amongst them and stand with the sword-bearers.' He then judged their cases and found Edgü-Temür and his follower guilty. To Edgü-Temür himself he said: 'Since thou art one of Batu's men I will send thy case to him. He will know how to deal with it.' However despite his complete lack of sympathy for Edgü-Temür's case Chinqai did not fail to show him some kindness. Having prompted him what to say he communicated his statement to Qa'an, viz.: 'Qa'an is Batu's superior. Who am I that my case should require consultation? The might of

[19] The text has Nurin (NWRYN) but this is apparently the same person as the Tümen mentioned below, p. 500, where a variant is Nurin.

the Emperor of the Face of the Earth, Qa'an, knows how to deal with it.' Because of this Qa'an spared him: had the case been sent to Batu, even had he been his dearest friend, what mercy would he have shown him?

Qa'an commanded Edgü-Temür and his companions to go to Körgüz. Some were beaten and some handed over to Körgüz, who put them in the *cangue,* which was the reason for their [subsequent] contumacy and rebellion. As for the rest he ordered them to be given relay animals and sent back with Körgüz. He likewise ordered them to be told that in accordance with their deserts and the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, according to which a lying *aiqaq* [20] is punished with death, they ought to have been executed as a warning to others; but since they had come a long way to reach his Court and their wives and children were awaiting them, he did not wish bad news of them to reach their households and had therefore spared their lives. But they should not again engage in such actions. To Körgüz he gave the following message [236]: 'These people are our servants. We have pardoned their crimes. If therefore thou continuest to bear a grudge against them, thou too wilt be at fault and it is not difficult to kill the like of thee.'

When these *yarghus* were over Körgüz began to administer affairs of state and public business, and the disposal of petitions proceeded in accordance with his wishes. And whatever countries were conquered by Chormaghun's forces [to the west] of the Oxus [21] were all entrusted to him by Qa'an, who gave him *yarlighs* and *paizas* to this effect.

Now at the time of the *yarghu* Qa'an had said of Sharaf-ad-Din: 'The cause of all this mischief is that Tazik who has taught the young fellows what to do. If he accompanies Körgüz now he will turn his head from the right path. He is not to go with him.' As for Sharaf-ad-Din himself he realized that inwardly Körgüz was angry with him and he feared his revenge. He was therefore glad to be left behind. However, Körgüz,

[20] In Turkish 'informer'.

[21] Here Āmūya would seem to mean the river and not the town later known as Charjui. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* 434.

with Chinqai's approval, objected to this decision on the grounds that the accounts for many years past could not be settled without Sharaf-ad-Din's presence and that if he was absent the tax-collectors and financial agents would refer matters to him. Qa'an's consent was thus obtained to his return and he was brought back against his will.

When Körgüz's affairs had been settled the *maliks* and leading men of Khorasan who had accompanied him wished each to be granted his own *yarligh*. However Körgüz came to a secret understanding with Chinqai on this subject arguing that if they were all to receive a *yarligh* or edict, what precedence would he have over the rest ? On this account none was able to procure a *yarligh* or *paiza*.

They all now returned and Körgüz sent on messengers in advance with the good news of Qa'an's favour (*soyurghamishi va marḥamat*) and his enemies' discomfiture. Here too a number of Mongols who had sided with Edgü-Temür [237] were arrested and placed in the *cangue* ; and Tonquz and Tümen were led out of the *ordu* with their hands tied behind their backs. After this Körgüz himself returned.

XXIX

OF KÖRGÜZ'S ARRIVAL IN KHORASAN AND WHAT BEFELL HIM THEREAFTER

HAVING thus found favour and warded off his enemies Körgüz on his journey homeward went to wait upon Tangut, the brother of Batu, and then proceeded by way of Khorazm. To prepare his *tuzghu* [1] my father had dispatched hither a tent complete with all the requisite implements in the way of gold and silver plate (? *majlis-khāna*) and had observed the necessary formalities. All that were left of the leading men of Khorasan went out with my father to welcome him back. He arrived by way of Shahristana and in Jumada I, 637 [November-December, 1239] he alighted before his own house. Messengers having been sent to summon

[1] See above, i, 102, n. 12.

all the chief men, they now presented themselves, and the Mongol emirs came also. My father had provided another tent of marvellous artifice and wondrous colouring with everything in keeping in the way of gold and silver vessels. He pitched this tent and feasted in it for days on end, during which time the *yarlighs* were read out and the newly decreed *yasas* promulgated to all creation. The leaders and *sadrs* of Iraq now arrived, and he sent his son to Iraq, Arran and Azerbaijan with such secretaries as were in the Divan. And though in name they were many yet the pivot of the work was around Nizam-ad-Din Shah on account of his competence and proficiency.

When they arrived in those regions they had many disputes with Chormaghun's commanders, and finally they took over those territories from them and fixed the taxes [238]. For [until then] each province had been held by a *noyan* and every town by an emir, and they had been content to levy but a small portion of the taxes for the Divan and used to seize the remainder for themselves. It was all taken from them and [considerable] sums were drawn upon them *(bar-īshān mutavajjih gardīd)*.

Körgüz made Tus his place of residence and removing thither began to rebuild the town. Nothing had been left of Tus but the name and there were not more than fifty habitable houses in the whole town and even these scattered, one here, one there, in odd corners. And so ruined were the bazaars that two donkeys in passing one another would have '*one leg laid over the other*'[2] amongst the rubble and thorns. Körgüz built treasury buildings and laid out parks; and all the *sadrs, maliks,* and great men began to purchase mansions and set about rebuilding the market, excavating *qanats* and repairing ruined estates. And a mansion which on the first day had been sold for 2½ *rukni*[3] dinars was sold a week later for 250. And from that time dates the rebuilding of the town and district. Körgüz laid a firm foundation in the administration of affairs. He established *yams* in various places complete with horses and other necessities in order that the people might not be put to inconvenience by the ambassadors; and so strict was his rule that no emir, who had previously cut

[2] Koran, lxxv, 29.

[3] See above, i. 23, n. 15.

off heads with no one able to protest, could now decapitate a chicken; whilst the peasantry became so self-assured that if a great army of Mongols encamped in a field they might not even ask a peasant to hold a horse's head, let alone demand provisions (*'ulūfa*) and offerings of food (*nuzl*), and the same applied to ambassadors, coming and going. Fear of him became deep-rooted in men's hearts.

Later he sought by some means to place Sharaf-ad-Din in the snare of calamity and the jaws of annihilation. There was a *dihqan's* son from Rughad [4] called Asil who had originally [239] been appointed steward (*vakīl-kharj*) to Körgüz and whose affairs, as Körgüz rose in dignity, had prospered accordingly. When Körgüz began his attack on Sharaf-ad-Din, Asil participated with the utmost zeal. Sharaf-ad-Din having been seized and placed in the *cangue*, the office of vizier was transferred to Asil. He had originally been a coppersmith, and in the Divan he would unashamedly break wind before an assembly of *sadrs* and notables.[5]

Körgüz sent the aforementioned Temür Elchi to Court to report on Sharaf-ad-Din and then followed in person. He was met *en route* by a messenger who informed him of Qa'an's death, as a result of which there was a state of chaos. Whilst on his way Körgüz had had a dispute with one of Chaghatai's chief emirs who traced his descent from the race of Chingiz-Khan [6] and out of haughtiness had given him a rough answer. With such persons words are finer than a hair of the head or a sharp sword and they objected to certain expressions which true or false, they attributed to him—

And what is thy excuse for something when it has been said? [7]

[4] Rūghad was probably in the Kabud-Jama district. See Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 84.

[5] Coppersmiths being notorious for their inability to control their natural faculties. (M.Q.)

[6] According to Rashid-ad-Din his name was Sartaq-Küje'ür (Sartak-Kujan in Khetagurov, 142) and he was a page (*ev-oghlan*) of Oghul-Ghaimish.

[7] From some verses addressed by Nu'man b. al-Mundhir to Rabi' b. Ziyad al-'Absi. See the *Khizanat-al-Adab*, IV, 171-6. The first half of the line runs:

That has been said, whether true or false. (M.Q.)

For fear of the situation Körgüz turned back. The emir reported he incident, and at this juncture a messenger sent in secret by Sharaf-ad-Din arrived as if to take his place *(jāi-gīr)*. The wives and sons of Chaghatai and the other princes deputed Arghun and Qurbaqa to fetch Körgüz to Court, and [240] they were instructed n the event of his refusing to come to bring him as a prisoner.[8]

Körgüz had [just] returned to Tus when the messengers rrived. They sent for Sharaf-ad-Din and made him their lecoy. Contrary to the Mongols' custom Körgüz had built a trong treasury in the middle of the walled town *(ḥiṣār)* and nade his abode there. The messengers therefore sent for help rom the army commanders, for whom this pretext was quite ufficient, for their breasts were filled with anger and their hearts vith malice. Great numbers of Mongols arrived, bringing Sharaf-ad-Din out of Sabzavar. As for Körgüz he was uneasy bout the messengers and in any case Asil of Rughad would not let him go to them, giving him ill advice and warning him not to place himself in their hands. Being ignorant of the contents of the edict Körgüz was afraid and kept guard on *(maḥfūẓ mī dāsht)* the treasury, to which had been given the name of ortress, until one day the messengers mounted horse and together vith the Mongols, clad in armour under their cloaks, entered he gates. Körgüz ordered the gates of the treasury to be closed, nd on this pretext they began to shoot. 'I am not a rebel,' aid Körgüz, and the gates were opened. The Mongols entered, eized Körgüz and Asil and sent men to the gates to lay hands on all the *maliks* and [other] persons there. However the *malik* Ikhtiyar-ad-Din escaped to Abivard. The affairs of the *maliks* of Khorasan and Mazandaran were thrown into utter confusion nd a contemporary composed the following verses *à propos* of heir condition:

I see the feet stumbling as they advance having strayed
from the path

[8] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 142, Blochet, 60) this incident ad occurred during the lifetime of Ögedei, who, upon receiving a complaint om Chaghatai's widow, had himself issued the order not only for Körgüz's rrest but also for his execution.

But the wind will subside [9] *soon as the building was founded upon flatulence.*

After some days the messengers returned taking Körgüz and Asil with them as prisoners. Körgüz in no way humbled himself and paid no attention to them. [241] Upon reaching the *ordu* of Ulugh-Ef [10] the emirs of the *yarghu* sat down and began the *yarghu*. Körgüz said to them: 'If you can dispose of my case, let us talk, but if it will be left undecided it is better to say nothing.'

So long as thou hast said nought thou canst still speak,
what thou hast said thou canst not conceal again.

The trial came to a standstill and they said that he was to be taken to Töregene Khatun. Sharaf-ad-Din intervened in the *yarghu* and tried to enter into an argument with Körgüz, but the latter so trounced him that he was unable to reply. One of the emirs of the *ordu* turned to Sharaf-ad-Din and said: 'He has been arrested on another charge, and if he is acquitted on that count what chance will the like of thee have against him? It would be better to seek his pardon and forgiveness than to behave in a hostile manner.'

Leaving Ulugh-Ef they came to the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun. Now at that time Chinqai had fled from the wrath of Töregene and sought refuge with Güyük; and both the Minister Mahmud Yalavach and Körgüz, being under the protection of Chinqai, had paid little heed to Töregene. Moreover, her ministers were people not previously employed in affairs of state and Körgüz at that time had shown no respect towards them and he now had no money wherewith to make good his position with them. And again it was Fatima Khatun,[11] in whom all affairs were now vested, who had chosen out and educated Sharaf-ad-Din before sending him to the countries of Khorasan and Mazandaran in attendance on the Emir Arghun.[12]

[9] Reading *tarkadu* for the *tarkanu* of the text.

[10] Lit. 'the Great House', *ef* being a variant of the Turkish *ev* 'house'. This was the name of Chaghatai's *ordu*. See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs*, 142.

[11] On Fatima see above, i, 244–6.

[12] There is no mention of this in the chapter on Sharaf-ad-Din.

The order was given that since Körgüz had been arrested on account of words spoken in the *ordu* of Ulugh-Ef [242] he should be taken back thither and tried upon the spot. As usual he had spoken hard words without considering the outcome. Qara Oghul ordered his men to fill his mouth with stones and so put him to death. Towards the end of his life he had become a Moslem and had abandoned the religion of idolatry.[13]

As for Asil he was imprisoned in Samarqand upon his return. He [14] gave orders for him to be kept hungry and finally ordered the jailer to put a drug in a dish of *tutmach* [15] and give it to him, and so he met his end.

The affairs of this world are like lightning, which flashes and then at once disappears, or like the wind which a man blows into a bottle, and when he takes his mouth away there is nothing there.

> If thou remain a hundred and if a hundred thousand [years],
> the day is the same and everything is the same.

[XXX]

OF THE EMIR ARGHUN

HE belongs to the Oirat tribe and his father Taichu [1] was the commander of a thousand. The Oirat are one of the best known of the Mongol tribes, and to that tribe belong most of the maternal uncles of the children and grand-children of Chingiz-Khan, the reason being that at the time of his first rise to power the Oirat came forward to support and assist him and vied with one

[13] *but-parasti*, which normally (see above, i, 59, n. 22) means Buddhism. Körgüz was therefore probably a Buddhist despite his Christian name of George and the fact that there was a church in his native village. See above, p. 483, n. 7 and p. 489.

[14] The subject of the sentence is not clear. Probably Qara is meant.

[15] *tutmach* is fiesh pastry cut in strips and stewed with meat.

[1] The text has TAYJW. On the name see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 180–1. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 120–1), Arghun's father, whom he does not name, far from being the commander of a thousand, was a poor man who, in a famine year, disposed of his son to a Jalayir emir in exchange for a leg of beef!

another in their alacrity to tender allegiance, and in recognition of their services an edict was issued concerning that tribe to the effect that the daughters of their emirs should be married to the descendants of Chingiz-Khan; and he likewise bestowed upon the chief of that tribe a daughter of his own called Checheken [2] Beki. This is the reason why all the princes take their wives from the Oirat.

The Emir Arghun, after mastering the Uighur script and having grown into young manhood, encountered every manner of luck and good fortune. Young though he was he went to the Court of Qa'an and was enrolled amongst the *bitikchis*. [243] Day by day Qa'an looked upon him with greater favour, and he was still in the flower of youth when he sent him to Khitai together with Qaban on an important mission. He remained there some time, and upon his return to Qa'an was nominated, because of his complete reliability, to investigate the case of Edgü-Temür and Körgüz, wherein he was associated with Qurbaqa and Shams-ad-Din Kamargar. Upon arriving in Khorasan he commenced the investigation and then, in accordance with a decree, he sent all the parties to Court and returned thither himself also. At Court he assisted and supported Körgüz; and when the countries of Khorasan and Iraq were entrusted to Körgüz, the Emir Arghun was appointed *basqaq* to him and his *nöker* [3] or associate in the administration of affairs, so that Körgüz might carry out all business in consultation with him and embark upon nothing without him.

[2] Reading ČYČAKAN for the JYJAKAN of the text. The Chechegeyin of the *Secret History*. The name means 'Little Flower'. She was actually given in marriage, not to the Oirat chieftain (Qutuqu Beki), but to one of his sons, Inalchi according to the *Secret History* (§ 239), Törelchi according to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 119).

[3] The text has NWKR, while B, D and E have NWKAR. The usual form of the word in Mongol is *nökör*, but a form *nöker* is represented by the *nöger* 'socius' of the *Codex Cumanicus* (see Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*) and by the Modern Persian *naukar* (*noukär*) 'servant'. On the *nököt* (Mongol pl. of *nökör*) as 'antrustions, c'est-à-dire des personnes libres au service des dirigeants, des chefs de clans et de tribus, notamment en qualité de guerriers' see Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 110–23. Vladimirtsov however makes no mention of the *nököt* as civil administrators.

When Körgüz returned to Khorasan he began to administer the affairs of those countries independently, and the Emir Arghun turned back. Upon reaching the *ordu* of Ulugh-Ef he was sent back again to fetch Körgüz, and Qurbaqa and a number of [other] messengers were sent with him. They arrested Körgüz and released Sharaf-ad-Din from imprisonment, as has been previously recorded. When they reached the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun, Körgüz was imprisoned on account of words he had spoken, and Töregene Khatun placed the territories he had held, from the Oxus to Fars, Georgia, Rum and Mosul, under the command and control of the Emir Arghun and appointed Sharaf-ad-Din to accompany him as *ulugh-bitikchi*,[4] the other officials being retained in their posts.

In the year [244] 641/1243-4 the Emir Arghun arrived in Khorasan, where he read the *yarlighs* and reduced the affairs of the country to order. Then he left Siraqchin[5] Elchi together with other *elchis* who had come from the *ordu* of Töregene Khatun to collect the arrears of taxes; he left Nizam-ad-Din Shah with him also. He himself set out for Iraq and Azerbaijan. When they reached Dihistan Sharaf-ad-Din received news that there was a plot against him at Batu's Court. He set out for that court, whilst the Emir Arghun proceeded towards Tabriz, appointing the Emir Husain, the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din and a number of secretaries to deputize for him in Khorasan and Mazandaran. Upon arriving in Tabriz he restored to order the affairs of that region which had been disturbed by the proximity of the great emirs such as Chormaghun, Baichu[6] and others, who regarded that territory as their own property. He protected the revenue and caused these people to withdraw their hands

[4] I.e. chief *bitikchi* or secretary.

[5] SYRAQJYN. Apparently 'the Yellow One', from the Mongol adjective *sira* or *siro* 'yellow'. The ending *-qchin* is normally used to form feminine names (cf. above, I, 268, n. 8, the name Boraqchin) but it would seem that, like *-jin*, it can also occur in masculine names. See Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 462, n. 49.

[6] Reading BAYČW for the TAYJW of the text. The native pronunciation of the name was Baiju (see Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [109]-[110], Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 413) but it would appear to have been pronounced Baichu in Western Asia. Cf. in particular the Armenian forms, Bach'u (Grigor and

therefrom: he recovered from the grasp of their control all the inhabitants, noble and base, both such as had resorted to the protection of these men and such as had fled from their tyranny and oppression. He put the affairs of that region to rights, and in response to his fair and handsome treatment both small and great were minded to follow and attend on him; and the hearts of men fell victims to the goodness of his character, and they wished him well. The Sultans of Rum, Syria and Aleppo sent ambassadors to him and sought his protection and favour; and he dispatched *elchis* to those parts to secure the payment of tribute.

When Sharaf-ad-Din arrived in Tabriz from the *ordu* of Batu he made great exactions on the people there and elsewhere because of arrears in taxes. The Emir Arghun opposed this although Sharaf-ad-Din persisted; and love and affection for him [245] became even more firmly implanted in men's hearts.

When *elchis* came to summon [7] local governors *(mutaṣarrifān-i-aṭrāf)*, sultans and *maliks* he too set out, having sent messengers to fetch the *maliks* and revenue officials from every side. He left my father the *sahib-divan* as his deputy in the lands of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Rum etc., and appointed Buqa as *basqaq*. By the time he reached Tus Sharaf-ad-Din had passed away. The Emir Arghun abolished the illegal taxes which he had imposed on everybody to be collected by confiscation and swept away that innovation, but such taxes as were already collected he dispatched [to the treasury]. Then he set out for Court, accompanied by the *maliks*, secretaries and holders of governorships *(mutalabbisān-i-a'māl)*.

After the death of Qa'an the princes had each of them taken possession of a region or district, made assignments *(iṭlāq)* on the taxes by means of drafts and transfers and issued *yarlighs* and *paizas* [in their own name], which was contrary to their ordinances

Kirakos) and Bach'aw (Vardan). In 1242 Baichu or Baiju succeeded Chormaghun in the command of the Mongol army of the West; it was he who conquered the Seljuq princes of Asia Minor. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 420-4.

[7] *Sc.* to attend the *quriltai* at which Güyük was elected Khan. (M.Q.)

and *yasas*. Accordingly the Emir Arghun commanded the collection of every *paiza* and *yarligh* issued by the princes after Qa'an's death.

When he came to Güyük Khan he gave him many presents, and he likewise sought the favour of the princes by the offering of gifts proportionate to the rank and importance of each and cloud-like poured buckets of wealth upon the ministers and great dignitaries of Court. Having finished the distribution of gifts he turned to the presentation of affairs of state. First he laid before the assembly, at which all the princes were present, those *paizas* and *yarlighs* which they had issued and which he had retrieved from the holders. This was the most important of his services and produced the greatest effect. Güyük Khan showed him favour and confirmed him in the administration *(taṣarruf)* of all the territories he held. He gave him a tiger-headed *paiza* and a *yarligh* and transferred the affairs of all the *maliks* and ministers to him. To none of these latter did he give a *yarligh* or *paiza*, and none [246] of the governors, *maliks* and *mutasarrifs* were allowed aḍmittance to his presence except the Sahib Yalavach and his son from Khitai and Transoxiana and the Emir Arghun from the lands of the West.

Sharaf-ad-Din being dead Güyük appointed as *ulugh-bitikchi* the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti. He was born and bred in Khorazm, but the fame he enjoyed under that appellation was indeed such as the poet has said:

> *I am called Asma as a nickname amongst the tribesmen as though Asma had become one of my names.*[8]

He was a good and kind-hearted man.

When returning from Court the Emir Arghun arranged the affairs of each of his attendants, whoever he was, in accordance with his desire and ambition, appointing them to important tasks and great enterprises in conformity with their rank and station and granting the wishes of each of them, so that the great officers

[8] From a famous *qasida* by Abu-Muhammad al-Khazin in praise of the Minister Ibn-'Abbad. See the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr*, III, 34–5. (M.Q.) There is a pun in the original since *asmā'* is the Arabic for 'names'.

were united in loving him and agreed in singing his praises, and they went back in attendance upon him filled with joy and exultation.

During the journey the Emir Arghun opened his sea-like hand in the manner of April rain, and all the lands of Turkestan and Transoxiana were immersed in his beneficence, and through the fame of his bountifulness and generosity the hearts [even] of strangers inclined towards him. He sent on messengers in advance to Khorasan and the [adjacent] countries to announce his return, and [the peoples of] all these lands and places set out to welcome him back and gathered together in Merv. The Emir Arghun with the *maliks*, emirs and ministers alighted in Arzanqabad [9] near Merv in . . .[10] For several days [247] they feasted in the royal palace, and he caused the palace to be rebuilt and the park restored, and each of the ministers at his instructions began to lay out a park and erect a mansion in Arzanqabad. From thence he set out for Tus, where he gave orders for the rebuilding of the Mansuriya and the palaces, which had fallen into such complete ruin that all trace of any building had long since disappeared from the site. This task he entrusted to Ikhtiyar-ad-Din of Abivard. He himself took up his abode in the meadows of Radkan, where for some days he took his pleasure in the company of his peers and coevals. He was joined by the nobles from every side; affairs of state developed in accordance with his wishes; *sadrs* and *maliks* kept on arriving every day and he promoted their interests as his auspicious counsel saw fit.

When the nights began to sigh deeply because of separation from the days of Summer, and Autumn grew old and decrepit,

[9] Arzanqābād, according to Yaqut, was the name of one of the villages of Merv. (M.Q.)

[10] There is a blank in B and E. A has no blank and the whole sentence is missing in D and G. C has 'the year 648', i.e. 1250–1, which, as M.Q. points out, is clearly wrong since Juvaini goes on to say (below, p. 512) that Arghun again set out for the *ordu* and having reached Talas received news of Güyük's death and turned back; and (below, p. 513) that he left once again for the *ordu* in the year 647/1249–50. Since Güyük died in the early spring of 1248 (see above, i, 261, n. 43) the date of Arghun's arrival in Merv cannot have been later than the spring of 1247 and was probably earlier.

and the leaves of the trees, upon the assault of the breeze of Dawn, began to desert the elevation of the tree-tops, the Emir Arghun set out for Tabriz by way of Mazandaran. He adjusted the affairs of each region or district as he came to it and so proceeded very slowly. When he reached the Amul country my father came to meet him with all kinds of valuables, jewel-studded objects and precious stones which he had had prepared in Azerbaijan. To these he added rugs and carpets and all the paraphernalia of banqueting, and for a day or two he held a feast.

As the time drew near for his departure [for Azerbaijan] there came a report about Mengü-Bolad,[11] a Mongol, who under Chormaghun had been appointed *basqaq* over the artisans of Tabriz. When the opportunity presented itself he had attached himself to the skirt of the protection and favour of Qadaq Noyan,[12] in whose hands lay the administration of Güyük Khan's realm. [This he had done] because of Qadaq's belonging to the Naiman tribe, a circumstance which was bound to draw them together.[13] [248] Availing himself of this advantage he resorted to the Court of Güyük Khan in order to report upon his activities. Qadaq Noyan obtained a *yarligh* confirming Mengü-Bolad's position as *basqaq* and emir: he also procured a firman with *al-tamgha* appointing as the commander of the *tümen* in Tabriz and Azerbaijan the *atabeg* Nusrat-ad-Din, son of the *atabeg* Khamush,[14] who had come out of Rum and after remaining in hiding had shown his face [again] as an opponent of the *malik* Sadr-ad-Din.

When the Emir Arghun learnt of these circumstances and realized how those who envied and hated him were waiting their opportunity his pride would not suffer him to disregard their intrigues. He ordered his deputies to prepare for the journey and draw upon the funds destined for the expenses of the Court, and he sent on Nizam-ad-Din Shah in advance to serve as his ambassador and to report on the confusion that had

[11] On the spelling of the name see above, i, 50, n. 11.
[12] On Qadaq see above, i, 259, n. 37.
[13] Thus Mengü-Bolad too was a Naiman. [14] See above, i, 148, n. 29.

arisen with the spreading of that rumour. A month later he too set out and at the request of the *malik* Sadr-ad-Din ordered him likewise to set out from Tabriz.

The Emir Arghun loosened his reins and pressed hard on his stirrups as he journeyed to Court. The Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti and my father accompanied him, and by his orders the writer of these lines was also in attendance on him. When constant journeying had brought them to Taraz there came news of Güyük Khan's death, which coincided with the arrival of Eljigitei [15] in that area. The Emir Arghun with a party of Mongols set out to meet this latter, travelling light; he ordered the *maliks* and *sadrs* to remain behind in Kenchek.[16] Eljigitei strongly urged him to turn back in order to organize the main army and make ready its equipment, which could not be done in his absence. [249] He returned therefore whence he had come sending the Emir Husain to the *ordu* to report on his setting out for Court, the reason for his turning back and other matters. The Emir Husain and Nizam-ad-Din made their report and the result was in accordance with the Emir Arghun's wishes.

Upon reaching Khorasan the Emir Arghun prepared for the provisioning *(ṭaghār u sharāb)* of Eljigitei. Meanwhile the princes everywhere dispatched messengers and sent drafts in every direction so that the revenue for several years ahead was exhausted by these assignments, the great number of which together with the constant relay of Mongol tax-collectors and the levies *(ikhrājāt)* and demands of Eljigitei reduced the people to indigence and the emirs, *maliks* and secretaries to impotence.

When his emissaries returned the Emir Arghun tarried a little while, then went again to Eljigitei near Badghis and returning from thence proceeded to Sarakhs. When Winter turned her back and Spring showed her face, and the weather became

[15] See above, i, 256, n. 27.

[16] Reading KNČK for the KNḤK of the text, for which C and E have KNJK, as has also Vassaf, Bombay ed., 12. This was Rubruck's Kinchat, i.e. *Kinchac. See Rockhill, 135 and n. 1. It is mentioned in the *Masālik-al-Abṣār* as one of the towns in the Talas valley. (The relevant passage is quoted by Rockhill, 136, n. 2.). Kashghari, I, 480, calls it Kenchek-Sengir.

milder and the birds began to sing in the gardens, he held it prudent to take a firm decision and in Jumada I, 647 [August-September, 1249] [17] set out [for Court]. And since no order from Mengü-Bolad was obeyed in Tabriz, he too at the Emir Arghun's command set out from thence. When the Emir Arghun reached the *ordu yarghus* were several times held and his case investigated. The truth of his words was plainly distinguished from Mengü-Bolad's lies and his clear proof prevailed over his adversary's false argument. The damask steel of Mengü-Bolad became soft iron [18] and the water of his desire fetid, while with God's aid the Emir Arghun [250] was victorious, and after remaining there awhile he obtained leave to return having succeeded in all his objectives.

Because of their displeasure, of which there were obvious signs, he was unable to go in person to the Court of Beki [19] and Mengü Qa'an. In order therefore to present his excuses for failing to wait upon them he dispatched the *malik* Nasir-ad-Din 'Ali Malik, who was one of the most distinguished *maliks* and the associate and *nöker* of the Emir Arghun on behalf of Beki, and the Khoja Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i also, who was a *bitikchi* likewise representing her, with gifts and presents to the Court of Beki and Mengü Qa'an. At the same time he sent Nizam-ad-Din Shah, who had succeeded Sharaf-ad-Din as *bitikchi* on behalf of the *qoshqun* [20] of Batu, to that Court, but he died whilst actually in that *ordu*.

The Emir Arghun then journeyed homewards and coming to [the *ordu* of] Yesü in the region of Almaligh he halted for a month or two to celebrate his nuptials with the daughter of one of the emirs of his Court. The Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din and Mengü-Bolad went on in advance, whilst the writer of these lines remained behind with the Emir Arghun.

[17] It will be seen that, if the date is correct, he actually set out in the late summer.

[18] A word-play upon his name ('Eternal Steel').

[19] I.e. Tolui's widow, Sorqoqtani Beki, on whom see above, i, 108, n. 31.

[20] Reading, as M.Q. suggests, QWŠQWN for the QWSQWN of the text. This is the Turkish form of the word, which in its Mongol form (*qoshighun*) seems only at a later stage to have acquired the meaning of '(army) division'. See Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 172, Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 158.

When the latter left that place [21] it was winter, and plain and hill were level with each other from the snow, and the intensity of the cold restrained the limbs from motion; and yet he reached Merv from that place [21] in a space of thirteen days. The Emir Husain and the *sahib-divan,* whom he had left there as his deputies, were absent having, at Batu's command, betaken themselves to his Court. After a while the Khoja Najm-ad-Din ʿAli [251] of Jilabad arrived from that Court bringing a *yarligh* appointing him *ulugh-bitikchi* on behalf of that *qoshqun;* the chief *elchis* accompanied him in order to confirm that appointment. And when the *elchis* in response to the invitation of the Emir Arghun and the nobles and chief men had duly arrived, he appointed Naqu and the Khoja Najm-ad-Din to deputize for him in Khorasan, whilst he himself set out for the *quriltai* as is related in the following.

[XXXI]

OF THE EMIR ARGHUN'S PROCEEDING TO THE GREAT *QURILTAI*

In Jumada II, 649 [August–September, 1251], he determined to set out for the *quriltai* and, in accordance with the edict, *elchis* were sent to summon all the *maliks,* emirs and secretaries [to accompany him]. When they had reached the neighbourhood of Taraz he heard the glad tidings of Mengü Qa'an's accession to the throne of the Khanate.[1] He travelled at a faster pace and though the great quantities of snow hampered movement and precluded haste he paid no attention thereto. When he came to the neighbourhood of Qulan-Bashi,[2] the snow had levelled hollows and hillocks blocking the roads and filling the thoroughfare to more than the height of a horse. That day they halted where they were, but the next day the Emir Arghun ordered

[21] What place? Almaligh is altogether out of the question. It was situated near the present-day Kulja and was therefore more than 1000 miles east of Merv.

[1] This had taken place on the 1st July, 1251. See below, p. 567.

[2] See above, i, 40, n. 6.

all the horsemen to proceed in his company in advance of their horses. He turned aside *(multafit)* from the road, crossed the stream and proceeded along the hilltops.

[252] He would make the horsemen dismount ten at a time to dig a road. Wherever there was a hollow he would fill it in, and the horsemen would then follow. And wherever it was impossible to pass he would throw down tarpaulins *(? bārpūshhā)* and so allow the animals to proceed. By the grace of God Almighty the sun was shining that day so that by dint of great labour a parasang had been traversed by evening, and by the bounty of the Glorious and Exalted Creator the dread of that danger had been dispelled. In the same manner he continued to deny himself rest and repose until he reached Besh-Baligh, where the Emir Mas'ud Beg had arrived on his return from the Court of Mengü Qa'an. They received each other with all manner of refined courtesies and gave feasts and banquets. Then he departed from thence and sent on a messenger in advance to Mengü Qa'an to inform him of the exhaustion of their beasts of burden. The messenger was met by another bringing instructions for him to hasten [to the Khan's presence]. With this the gusts of the breeze of divine grace began to blow and the bud of hope of superabundant royal favour to unfold. In obedience to this command the Emir Arghun increased his pace and in the middle of Safar of the year 649 [3] he reached Court.

On the next day his companions arrived likewise and presented their offerings; and he was enrolled amongst the great ones of the realm. Later came the *malik* [253] Sadr-ad-Din, the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti and the other notables who had been held up by the snow and cold, and they had the honour of making presents *(tikishmishī)*. When they had finished presenting their offerings the Emperor ordered an inquiry to be made into the state of land and people, and the Emir Bulghai and certain [other] emirs summoned them all and questioned the

[3] A mistake for 650. According to Juvaini's own statement, III, 74 [ii, 597], Arghun reached the Mongol Court on the 20th Safar, 650 [2nd May, 1252]. (M.Q.)

maliks and *sadrs*. Thereupon the Emir Arghun made an oral report on the chaotic condition of finances and the deficit in tax-payment occasioned by the constant succession of unlawful assignments and a stream of harsh *elchis* and tax-gatherers; and acknowledged and admitted the shortcomings arising from the disordered state of affairs, which in turn was produced by the conditions of the time. Since his confession of negligence in the administration of affairs and his excuses therefor were reinforced with plain and evident proofs, the World-Emperor expressed his approval, being not unmindful of the services the Emir Arghun had rendered in the past, and he distinguished him with increase of favour, and, in excess of kindness and beneficence, singled him out from all his peers and equals. Mengü Qa'an then ordered all the *sadrs* who were present to be gathered together and consulted as to how the people's lot might be alleviated and the country so administered that the poor might be relieved and the lands restored to prosperity. For that which exclusively occupies the Emperor's mind is that the scented breezes of justice and equity should perfume the four corners of the world, that the hands of oppressors and tyrants should be restrained from harming the subjects of his realm, that the prayers of the servants of God Almighty should comprehend his daily-increasing fortune and that the blessings of that fortune should be united with an auspicious era. Moreover there is not a shadow of doubt that everybody is best acquainted with the interests of his own country, and knows most about the cause of its ills, and by reason of that knowledge sees best how those ills may be cured. The Emperor commanded therefore that after careful consideration [254] they should each write a statement explaining what was right or wrong with their country, and how it had been caused, and how it might be remedied, so that he might order the necessary reforms according as his lofty understanding dictated. For it is no secret that the skilful physician, before commencing his treatment, inquires into the symptoms of the disease, its origins and its violence or mildness, and informs himself by means of the beat of the pulse and other indications, so that the causes and symptoms of the disease being

recognized the treatment becomes an easy matter, and he mixes his drugs in accordance with the constitution [of the patient]. Now the justice of the Emperor is like a compassionate physician who dispels the diseases of tyranny and oppression from the constitution of the world with one draught of awesome severity; nay, it is the breath of Jesus which in a moment raises the victims of injustice to life.

In accordance with his command they each wrote a statement setting forth the griefs of the world, and the next day they were all ordered to present themselves in the place of audience. They were brought in before the Emperor and began to discuss the welfare of land and people in the aforesaid manner; and the gist of their conclusions was that the various levies *(ikhrājāt)* and miscellaneous exactments *(iltimāsāt)* from the people were [too] numerous, that the latter's dispersion was due to this cause and that therefore taxation should be fixed in the way it had been established in Transoxiana by the Minister Yalavach, i.e. what was called *qupchur*, in accordance with which the amount of a person's annual payment was determined according to his wealth and ability to pay, and having discharged this fixed amount he might not be approached again during the same year nor might another assignment be made on him. So was the decision reached, and the Emperor gave orders that a wealthy man should be assessed at ten dinars and so in proportion down to a poor man at one dinar, all the revenue from this source to be employed to meet the expenses *(ikhrājāt)* of the forced levy *(ḥashar)*, the *yams* and the maintenance of ambassadors. Beyond this the people were not to be interfered with and nothing was to be taken from them by unlawful requisitions,[4] nor were bribes to be accepted. And for every circumstance and [255] contingency he made a *yasa*, some of which are mentioned in the chapter on the accession of Mengü Qa'an.[5]

And when the decrees and *yasas* had been promulgated and the affairs of these countries settled upon the Emir Arghun and

[4] *qismat va dast-andāz.* On *qismat*, 'the distribution of levies among the population', see Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, 784.

[5] See below, pp. 598–600.

the administration thereof entrusted to his hands, the Emperor first of all gave him a *yarligh* and a tiger-headed *paiza* and appointed Naimatai [6] and Turumtai [7] to be his *nökers*, an emir being likewise nominated as *nöker* on behalf of each of the brothers, viz. Qubilai,[8] Hülegü, Arigh Böke [9] and Möge.[10] He then issued a *yarligh* concerning the various *yasas*, of which the chief purpose was to alleviate the plight of the people, and also gave *yarlighs* and *paizas* to those who had accompanied Arghun. Of the *maliks* Nasir-ad-Din 'Ali Malik, who was in effect the associate of the Emir Arghun, was entrusted with all the territories and in particular with the *tümen* of Nishapur and Tus and the *tümens* of Isfahan, Qum and Kashan. The *malik* Sadr-ad-Din, who was *malik* of all Arran and Azerbaijan, was confirmed in that governorship. The governorship of Herat, Sistan, Balkh and all that area in the direction of India as far as it had been subdued was granted to the *malik* Shams-ad-Din

[6] 'He of the Naiman.'

[7] On *turumtai*, the name of a small bird of prey, see above, i, 242, n. 8.

[8] The text here has QBLA instead of QBLAY (Rashid-ad-Din's QWBY-LAY). This is of course Möngke's successor, Marco Polo's Cublai Kaan (1260–94).

[9] ARYΓ BWKA. Vassaf (ed. Hammer-Purgstall, text, 21, 22, 25 and 28, tr. 23, 24, 26 and 29) has the form ĀRYΓ alongside ĀRYΓ BWKA, and it would appear therefore that his actual name was Arïgh, to which Böke stood in apposition, the whole meaning 'Arïgh the Wrestler'. Cf. the Büri Bökö who wounded Chingiz-Khan's half-brother Belgütei (*Secret History*, § 131) and the Chilger Bökö to whom his wife Börte was given after her capture by the Merkit (*ibid.*, § 111). This seems a more natural explanation of the name than to take *arïgh* 'pure' or *arïq* 'lean' as an adjective qualifying *böke* (*bökö*) and to conclude with Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 57, that the meaning is either 'Lutteur Pur' or 'Lutteur Maigre'. Grousset and Baruch (Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 317 and 548) adopt the form Ariq-böge, 'Pure Sorcerer', but as Pelliot points out, *op. cit.*, 56, the *g* of the Mongol *böge* 'shaman' is purely graphic and the pronunciation is *bö'e* or *bö*, which, as he says, accords ill with the Chinese transcription of the name (A-li Pu-ko)—it is equally irreconcilable with the Arabuccha of Rubruck. Arïgh Böke was Tolui's youngest son by his chief wife Sorqoqtani. William Buchier, the goldsmith from Paris, was his slave. On his struggle with Qubilai for the Khanate after the death of Möngke see Grousset, *op. cit.*, 317–24.

[10] MWKA. Tolui's eighth son according to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 202). He died in 1261. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 89, n. 7.

Muhammad Kart,[11] while the Emir Mahmud was given Karman and Sanquran.[12] To all of these the Emperor gave tiger-headed *paizas*, whilst each of the others received gold or silver *paizas* and also *yarlighs* according to their importance; after which he bade them depart. And all who were in attendance on them were numbered, and he presented them with Khitayan robes, even the donkey-drivers and cameleers that accompanied [256] them; and after receiving great honours and favours they departed, at the royal command, in the train of the Emir Arghun. The writer of this history and Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i remained behind for a few days. They received a *yarligh* and a *paiza* confirming the office of *sahib-divan* on behalf of the writer's father and Siraj-ad-Din, who had been *bitikchi* representing Beki (after whose death that office was dependent on Arigh Böke) and then departed in Rajab of the year 651 [August-September, 1253].

When the Emir Arghun arrived in Khorasan, all the ministers *(aṣḥāb)* and *sadrs* presented themselves and he caused the *yarlighs* to be read out and expounded the *yasas* of Mengü Qa'an to the revenue officials *('ummāl)* and *mutasarrifs*. And from each he exacted a written statement that he would not violate the principles thereof nor neglect the matters referred to therein; and that whoever acted contrary thereto and committed an act of oppression against the people would thereby incriminate himself and lay himself open to punishment. And in accordance with the royal decree he appointed emirs and secretaries, who for a number of days deliberated together regarding the fixing of the *qupchur* that had been ordered. It was finally decided that when the census was taken the rate should be fixed at 70 *rukni* dinars per ten persons to be paid annually. He then nominated emirs and secretaries to organize the census and the *qupchur*. In Khorasan and Mazandaran he appointed two or three of the Mongol emirs, who had come as representatives of the princes together with Naqu, a relation of his own, the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti, who was the *ulugh-bitikchi*, and the Minister 'Izz-ad-Din

[11] On the Karts of Herat (1245–1389) see Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 252.

[12] See above, i, 136, n. 10.

Tahir, [his] deputy with full powers *(nāyib-i-muṭlaq)*. To Iraq and Yezd he sent Naimatai and my father, the *sahib-divan*, though the thumb *(shast)* of Fate had tied the latter's age [257] with the knot of sixty *(shast)* and weakened the forces of appetite and desire; he was wearied and disgusted with service in the Divan, and repenting [in time] before falling into the whirlpool of regret he had decided to himself to withdraw his feet beneath the skirt of contentment and make up for the days he had passed in frivolity and idleness. He composed the following bilingual *qiṭ'a* on this subject:

For how long wilt thou commit what is unrighteous and for
how long wilt thou trail the skirt of childishness?
Juvaini, thou art barley (*javīn-ī*), when thou seekest, thou
shalt find. Why hasten so after greed?
Thou reckonest with others in ignorance forgetting that he
who reckoneth hastily is punished grievously.
Thou hast drawn up an account of thyself which is without a
sum total. What a wonderfully improvident man thou art!
If Fate contenteth another some day, thou reproachest
bitterly thine own fate.
Night and day because of thy cowardice thou writhest on
account of thy evil temper.
The light of the gleaming [cloud] of grey hairs rises
high, and thy youth has passed over like a cloud.
Youth has fled and old age arrived: being finished with
that fraud thou art, as it were, in a deep sleep.
Youth is gone and old is come; misfortune prevaileth,
therefore betake thee to repentance.
Old age has pressed hard on the stirrups of permanence—
why turnest thou the reins of desire towards what is vain?
And be not deceived by singing women (ghawānī), *for sweet*
praises are worse than the teeth of torture.
Cast off the veil of contentment, for no moonshine will reach
thee from the moon of Muqanna'.[13]
And be not led astray by the lapping of wine, for it is but
the craving for a mirage.

[13] On Muqanna', the 'Veiled Prophet', celebrated by Moore in *Lalla Rookh*, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, I, 318–23. The reference here is to 'the false moon which he caused, night after night, to rise from a well at Nakhshab (whence he is often called by the Persians *Máh-sázanda*, 'the moon-maker')

If thou be not a false taster, why art thou constantly full
of wine like a goblet ?
*Dost thou intrude in the sanctum of the treasures whilst
the worms of prohibited actions* [14] *gather together in the leather-bag ?* [15]
[258] Like the rain of the heavens thou art restless day and night,
like a *qutrub* [16] thou art all thy life in a commotion.

However, as the emirs would not consent to his retirement, my father set out against his volition for Iraq. When he reached the district of Isfahan he was overcome with mutually harmful ills and surrendered his soul to God, departing from the halt of annihilation to the destination of eternity.

The Emir Arghun likewise sent Turumtai and Sariq-Buqa [17] together with the *malik* Sadr-ad-Din to arrange the census, the division into thousands and the imposition of the *qupchur* in collaboration with the Khoja Majd-ad-Din of Tabriz.

Meanwhile, he himself set out for the Court of Batu to deal with certain matters and the Khoja Najm-ad-Din [18] accompanied him to Batu's *ordu*. These matters were transacted in accordance with Mengü Qa'an's edict and his own improvisation. He then proceeded by way of Darband to Georgia, Arran and Azerbaijan and completed the work of holding a census, imposing *qupchur* and assessing taxes, after which he set out for Iraq.

Now during his absence from the Imperial Court certain persons had banded together in spite and hostility towards him and had obtained a *yarligh* [for the dispatch of] Jamal-ad-Din Khass-Hajib as inspector. Arriving in Khorasan and finding it empty of men he set to work to check the accounts and opened the hand of seizure and appropriation.

When the Emir Arghun had completed his business in Iraq and Azerbaijan he hastened to meet Prince Hülegü, whom he reached in Kish.[19] With his encouragement and favour he

[14] Reading *nuhā* 'prohibitions'. [15] Reading *jirāb* for the *ḥirāb* of the text.

[16] The *quṭrub* was the name of a particularly restless kind of insect.

[17] 'Yellow Bull.'

[18] His full name was Najm-ad-Din 'Ali of Jilabad. See above, p. 514.

[19] The text has Kitū (following A) but D has KS, i.e. KŠ, Kish. Cf. also III, 99 (ii, 613), where the spelling Kish is guaranteed by the word-play

continued his journey to the Court of Mengü Qa'an and came to Khabaran. After [259] his departure from Hülegü Jamal-ad-Din Khass-Hajib went to the latter and laid before him a detailed list of all the ministers, *maliks*, emirs and chief men, saying: 'I have charges against each of them and must go to the Court of Mengü Qa'an.' Hülegü replied: 'This matter is the concern of the Emir Arghun and must be dealt with as he sees fit. At the command of Mengü Qa'an and with our agreement we have placed the keys of the government of those countries in his hands.' Now in the list of names Jamal-ad-Din had included that of the writer of these lines. When he came to my name the Prince said: 'If there is a charge against him let it be stated in my presence so that the matter may be investigated here and now and a decision given.' Jamal-ad-Din repented of what he had said and excused himself; and returning from thence he joined the Emir Arghun at Merv.

The latter now contracted a friendship with the Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din such as had not previously existed between them, and they set out for Court in Rabi' I, 654 [March–April, 1256], the Emir Arghun having appointed his son Kerei Malik, the Emir Ahmad and the present writer for the management of affairs under Prince Hülegü and having handed over to them the administering of Iraq, Khorasan and Mazandaran.

When the Emir Arghun reached the *ordu* of the World-Emperor, a number of calumniators and informers were already there awaiting his arrival, hoping to contrive some action, or hatch some plot and so do harm to his fortunes, whereof God was the protector. Khass-Hajib and some others now joined forces with these people. They made statements, and the Khitayan scribes set about casting the accounts, whilst the emirs of the *yarghu* began to investigate the Emir Arghun's case. Since the favour of the Judge of the Eternal Judgement still attended his affairs, his opponents achieved nought but trials and tribulation and in the arena of conflict nothing but disgrace and repenttance. Some of the ringleaders had already passed away whilst

with '*inān-kash*' 'drawing rein'. Kish, the later Shahr-i-Sabz, was the birthplace of Tamerlane.

actually in the *ordu,* and [the Emperor] handed over Khass-Hajib and the other informers to the Emir Arghun; and some were put to death on the spot and some executed upon his arrival in Tus. [260] As for Khass-Hajib he was sent back under arrest with only one mount.

In the meantime, the census of the provinces having been completed, the World-Emperor apportioned them all amongst his kinsmen and brothers, as shall be mentioned in the proper place. And since the Heaven-resting parasol of Mengü Qa'an was now moving towards the uttermost lands of Khitai, the Emir Arghun was again ordered to return to the countries under his control together with all the *maliks* and emirs; and he was distinguished with special honours and favours. As for the emirs and *maliks,* those who on the first occasion had not been honoured with *paizas* and *yarlighs* now received them. The Khoja Fakhr-ad-Din Bihishti had died in the *ordu.* His post was given to his son Husam-ad-Din Amir Husain, although he was younger than his other sons, because he could write the Mongol language in the Uighur script,[20] and that, in this present age, is the essence of learning and proficiency.[21] The office of *ulugh-bitikchi* on behalf of Batu was conferred on the Khoja Najm-ad-Din, whilst the other *bitikchis, maliks* and emirs retained the offices which they had hitherto held. The Khoja Najm-ad-Din then set out for the Court of Batu.

The Emir Arghun arrived in Khorasan in Ramazan of the year 656 [September, 1258], and having been witness of important affairs of Court, and experienced the subtlety thereof, and learnt the method of inquiry and investigation there practised, he carried out a minute examination of the accounts, punishing some of the *mutasarrifs* and appointing as his deputy in the affairs of the Divan and the private[22] treasury the Khoja 'Izz-ad-Din, a man whose character was as pure as his name[23] and whose

[20] Lit. 'he united the art of the Mongol tongue with [that of] the Uighur script'.

[21] Juvaini rarely shows his feelings so openly.

[22] *khāṣṣ,* i.e. relating to the *Khassa* or Private Purse. See Minovi and Minorsky, *op. cit.,* 779.

[23] Ṭāhir, i.e. 'the Pure'. See above, pp. 519–20.

competence and capacity were manifest to all mankind. The ties of close relationship and the bonds of friendship unsullied with hypocrisy prevent me from dilating upon this subject, for

The love between us surpassed that of kinship, and what
[261] *kinsmen rate [high] became mean [by comparison].*

It had on every previous occasion been the practice to commence the census and assessment of the *qupchur* and [other] taxes in Khorasan, but on this occasion, to make matters easier, the census of Khorasan was held over.

The Emir Arghun now set out to join Hülegü, who was in the region of Arran. Having arrived and made his report he proceeded to Georgia, where he began to hold a census and divide the population into thousands. On the first occasion the *qupchur* had been fixed at 70 dinars per 10 persons but since the expense *(ikhrājāt)* of levies of men *(ḥashar)*, post-houses *(yam)*, relays *(ulagh)* and supplies for the army exceeded the estimates and could not be met by the *qupchur* as then fixed, it was so adapted that the excess requirements were assessed in proportion to the original assessment. Before the introduction of the *qupchur*, landowners and men of wealth, people for example who had interests in ten different places or widely scattered property were proportionately taxed for each separate interest, so that one person might have to pay 500 or 1000 dinars. But when this new tax was imposed the assessment was 10 dinars, which would have been no great burden to the rich even though it had been doubled, whereas it weighed heavily upon the poor. The Emir Arghun had reported on this state of affairs and the order was given for the re-assessment of the *qupchur* at 500 dinars for the wealthy descending proportionately to 1 dinar for the poor, in order that expenses might be met. This procedure was adopted and the census was carried out with great thoroughness.

The Emir Arghun first went to Georgia because David Malik, the son of Qiz-Malik, had risen in rebellion [24] there and Hulegü had dispatched thither a large force of Mongols and Moslems. The Emir Arghun proceeded in that direction from Tiflis with

[24] See Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, 116.

his own immediate following and some troops. The armies united from every side and slew or took prisoner a great number of Georgians. The Emir Arghun then turned back and at the end of Ramazan, 657 [beginning of September, 1259] joined the Prince in Tabriz at the moment when he was preparing to march against Syria and reported to him on the affairs of [262] Georgia. Hülegü deputed a Mongol army for the task of levying the *tümens* of Iraq and the subjugated portion *(il)* of Georgia. All of this army he placed under the command of the Emir Arghun.

When the latter arrived back in Tiflis, David Malik the Elder had also risen in rebellion[25] because of demands for arrears of taxes and had shaken off the noose of allegiance.[26]

[XXXII]

OF SHARAF-AD-DIN OF KHORAZM

THE Judge of the Court of '*He rejecteth whom He rejecteth without reason, and He accepteth whom He accepteth without reason*', when He was creating the souls of men, threaded some upon the string of the blessed and fastened some to the tether of the accursed; '*and the blessed man is blessed for aye and the accursed man accursed in eternity*'. And the souls having been moulded and kneaded in men's hearts, by the process of generation and increase each individual at an appointed time and in accordance with predestination enters the plain of manifestation and descends from the loftiest rooftop to the lowliest doorstep. Then, if the garment of a man's being was embroidered with the embroidery of blessedness, the effects of goodness display themselves in his deeds and words without his needing to make any special exertion, whilst if another has been marked with the brand of accursedness, his whole behaviour is in keeping therewith. And the significance

[25] In the autumn of 1260. See Allen, *loc. cit.*

[26] In B there follows a blank space equivalent to seven or eight lines of text. This seems to indicate that the author in his original copy had left space for the insertion of subsequent events. (M.Q.)

hereof is confirmed by the pearl-raining words of the Prophet *(may God bless him and give him peace!)*: '*There are people in whose hands hath been placed the key of good, and there are people in whose hands hath been placed the key of evil.*' Now in accordance with the verse:

> *I am a man who brands his foes with* qasidas. *Verily, the worst* qasidas *are the anonymous ones*—[1]

the point of this preamble and the purpose of this exordium will be revealed in the life and deeds of Sharaf-ad-Din.

The Artificer in the workshop of Creation and Invention, having made him the vomiting place of the filthy leavings of depravity and the depository [263] of a mixture of unclean beliefs, wishing that his name too might correspond to his actions and desirous of establishing the truth that '*nick-names are sent down from Heaven*', composed the letters of his name from the *shin* and *ra* of *sharr* and named him *Sharr fid-Din.*[2] And it being a common custom and long-established practice to drop *tashdids* and infirm letters in names of frequent use for the sake of simplicity, so in this case the *tashdid* of the *ra* was lost and the *ya* in his name omitted and he was called Sharaf-ad-Din.[3] And we must needs say somewhat of that whereof his base nature was made up and which was comprehended in the unclean heart of that ill-fated wretch—

> *And I do not satirize him because of his rank, but I saw the dog being pelted with stones*[4]—

in doing which we obey the command of the Prophet: '*Describe the scoundrel and all about him.*' Now to the man of discernment it will be obvious that this commandment to make known the

[1] Bashama b. Hazn, one of the poets of the *Hamasa*. See Tabrizi, *Sharh-al-Hamasa*, Bulaq ed., I, 207. (M.Q.)

[2] I.e. 'Evil in the Faith'.

[3] *tashdid* is the name of the orthographical sign which indicates that a letter is pronounced doubled and the 'infirm letters' are *alif* (A), *wāw* (W) and *yā* (Y). Thus according to Juvaini's pretence ŠR FY ALDYN, i.e. Sharr fid-Dīn, was corrupted into ŠRF ALDYN, i.e. Sharaf-ad-Dīn, his actual name, lit. 'Nobility of the Faith'.

[4] Abu-Yusuf Ya'qub b. Ahmad, a contemporary of Tha'alibi, who quotes these lines in his *Tatimmat-al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See now Eghbal's ed., II, 21.

evil character of the wicked is not devoid of particular and general advantages, which are limited to two sorts. First, when the crimes and vices of such a fool are recounted in the gatherings and assemblies of men, those who are decked in the raiment of wisdom and adorned with the jewel of felicity perceive the necessity of shunning and avoiding the like actions and neglect not to proceed to the practice of noble customs so that the picture thereof may be delineated in their minds and their bodies become the receptacle of sublime matters. The Commander of the Faithful ʿAli was asked: *'From whom didst thou learn good manners?'* *He replied: 'From such as had none.'* And secondly, a person possessing such faults, if he be prepared to accept the lights of divine guidance, will doubtless eschew such actions, and shrink from the reproach of the censorious, and hold it his bounden duty to avoid being the butt of criticism, and regard the attainment of the perfections of felicity as taking precedence over all things; in order that he may be saved from that shame and disgrace, whereof the mention remains engraved for ever upon the countenance of [264] Life, and may conscientiously implant in his person praiseworthy qualities and excellent properties by the exclusion of evil deeds, so that within a short time he may be known among his equals for the goodness of his character. But if (which Heaven forfend!) the figure of adversity and the sign of disappointment be already traced upon his being, then no admonishment will draw the cotton of inattention from his ears nor will he desist from his ways, nay every day his persistence therein will increase and he will become more rooted therein than ever.

For the old man will not abandon his ways even when he
is hidden beneath the earth of his grave.[5]

His enormities cannot be separated from him: how can
one separate the stench from the dung?
He complains: 'Why hast thou satirized me?' But he himself
is the satire—with what then dost thou satirize him?

[5] Salih b. ʿAbd-al-Quddus az-Zindiq. See the *Kitab-al-Aghani*, XIII, 15. (M.Q.)

So likewise was this scoundrel unworthy of greatness—

High rank befitteth not the person of Abu-Ya'la nor the light of the beauty of Islam— [6]

this fellow with the viper face and the scorpion manners, of base behaviour and hideous mien, womanish in appearance and effeminate in action—

Abur-Rida al-Qari hath a countenance which betokens an effeminate nature.
He is womanish in character but lacketh a woman's lightness of spirit— [7]

a two-faced tale-bearer sunk in shame and ignominy; a bringer of ill-fortune to any master; a reprobate devoid of all good qualities; a whoremonger splendid in tyranny and oppression; a male harlot having attained the uttermost degree in the world; defective in appearance and Yazid-like [8] in nature; evil of character and of unsavoury influence; [265] the betrayer of every friend and the informer against every superior; in boasting and aberration like unto Nimrod; in iniquity and ignorance the companion of Thamud; an impaler like Pharaoh,[9] and like 'Ad in the creation of oppression and unrighteousness throughout the lands and peoples of Islam; a pathic masquerading as a pederast; an outcast ignoring the claims of religion; like a rock when mounting and like an ass when mounted; slaying the oppressed and attracting the oppressors; an afreet in human shape; hated [10] by the good and trusted by the

[6] Ibn-al-Hajjaj, the well known profligate poet. Attributed to him by Ibrahim al-Kutubi in the *Ghurar-al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Wāḍi'a wa-'Urar-an-Naqā'iṣ al-Fāḍi'a* (Paris, MS Arabe 1301, folio 266). See also the *Muḥāḍirāt-ar-Rāghib*, I, 14, in the new edition of 1326/1908–9. (M.Q.)

[7] Abul-Khair al-Mufassal b. Sa'id b. 'Amr al-Ma'arri. Quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 9.

[8] Apparently a word-play on the names of two of the Umayyad Caliphs, Yazid b. Mu'awiya [680–3] and Yazid b. al-Walid b. 'Abd-al-Malik [720–4], whose *laqab* was Nāqiṣ lit. 'deficient'. There is also a play on the ideas of increase (*ziyādat*) and deficiency (*nuqṣān*). (M.Q.)

[9] Cf. Koran, xxxviii, 11: '*Before them the people of Noah and Ad and Pharaoh the impaler treated their prophets as impostors.*'

[10] Reading *mamqūt* with B, D, E and G.

wicked; a tearer of veils and a murderer of petitioners; an impudent miser; morose like a Russian, always in a rage; reviled by all mankind and cursed by every tongue;—

And I never called down curses upon him without my listeners following with 'Amen!'—

a beast on its hind legs; a devil in human form; a demon-like scoundrel; a swine in the garb of mankind; an Iblis in the grossness of his deceit; base from the turpitude of his base ambition; a Satan in the guise of men; ape-like *(nasnās)* [11] in the number of his evil suggestions;—

It is a miracle in this world—one of human mien and yet not born of Adam.
In deceit he is like a devil, never finished with fraud and wickedness.

If our father Adam accepted him, then a dog is better than our father Adam—[12]

[266] *(God pardon the slips of my tongue!)*[13] wealthy in his store of ignorance; poor in the clothing of learning; shunning the duties of generosity; jealous except with respect to his womenfolk; large in bulk but mean in spirit; with no sense of honour or shame; a man of keen vision but [only] in the reckoning of grains and drams; skilled in villainy *(ṭaharmuz)* but a fool at—;[14] a foul-mouthed rogue for ever picking quarrels; as a grave-robber outdoing the lowest rabble; impatient of the commands of God; eager to commit forbidden sins; loose of rein in

[11] The term is applied sometimes to the anthropoid apes and sometimes to a fabulous monster. See Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 180 and 291.

[12] This *bait* is adapted from three lines by a Samanid poet, Abul-Hasan 'Ali b. al-Hasan al-Lahhan, in which he satirizes the people of Khorazm. They are quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr*, IV, 42, and by Yaqut in the *Mu'jam-al-Buldān* under Khorazm. In the margin of A, a reader, after blotting out the greater part of the *bait*, has written: *'This is plain blasphemy: God curse him that saith it and dieth unrepentant and forgive him if he repent thereof!'* (M.Q.)

[13] Cf. the preceding note.

[14] The text has *tabarruz* 'going out into the open country', 'sortir pour aller à la selle', but perhaps, as in the case of *ṭaharmuz* from *ḥarām-zāda*, ('bastard'), *tabarruz* or some word like it is here an Arabicized derivation from a Persian root.

everything evil; tight of fist in everything good; cruel except towards sin; denying the limitless mercy of God; cowardly and playing the tricks of cowards; blind to the goodness of God the Forgiver; greedy like a dog for the carrion of this world; careless of the world to come; the inscription '*despairing of God's mercy*' engraved upon the brow of his soul; and the lights of certainty withheld from the page of his gloomy bosom by the screens of doubt and suspicion. The truth of the matter is—

> Had Iblis recognized thy deeds he would have made thee
> his successor in his profession.
> And had Adam known that thou wouldst be born, out of shame
> he would have castrated himself.

And indeed his ill-fated arrival amongst the people of Khorasan resembled the preliminaries to the arrival of Dajjal,[15] nay it was like the onslaught of the vanguard of Doom.

> *His eyes are the prelude to ill luck, and there is ill*
> *luck even in the prelude.*
> *Already in the loins of Adam he was called 'the harbinger*
> *of sorrows'.*[16]

Now the explanation of the secret here hidden and of the mysteries here hinted at is that this ignoble person, naked of the clothing of learning, was the son of a porter in one of the villages of Khorazm.

> *How excellent are the people of al-Mala except that if*
> *Mayy be mentioned she is not excellent.*[17]

[267] Having passed through the years of infancy and reached the age of puberty he had, from the mildness of the air and the sweetness of the water, acquired a pleasant shape and a handsome presence, his hair falling to his loins and his face putting the moon to shame; his teeth resembling dazzling pearls and his

[15] The Mohammedan Anti-Christ, whose appearance will herald the end of the world.

[16] Abul-Fadl al-Fadli al-Kuskari. Quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 86.

[17] From the verses of Dhur-Rumma in which he satirizes his mistress Mayya [Mayy]. See the *Kitab-al-Aghani*, XVI, 119-20, the *Mu'jam-al-Buldān* under al-Malā and Ibn-Khallikan under Dhur-Rumma. (M.Q.)

mouth like a smiling pistachio-nut: so that many wept for love of him.

> *On Mayy's face there is a trace of beauty, but under her clothes is vileness could it but be seen.*[17]

One day the *malik* of Khorazm passed by and his glance fell upon him. He found his face well-shaped and his limbs symmetrical; and he became violently enamoured of him and captivated by his beauty. He took him into his service and removed the veil of shame. Some time elapsed and having become skilled in the rules and procedure of service he became secretary *(davātī)* to the *malik*, nay a pen-case *(davātī)* for his pen, a cure for his pain and a vessel for his dregs. And from constant use of the pen he came gradually to know the difference between black and white[18] and so on, until the down began to grow on his cheeks and his looks to fade, it being well know that the beauty of striplings is as fleeting as the fidelity of women.

> The rose of thy cheek will not always remain in flower, nor will this heartbroken one remain full of care and grief.

Now sensual love is an obsession which quickly casts dust in the eyes of wisdom, but the fire of that passion is quenched with the shedding of but a little water, and it passes away like the wind.

> Love is what does not become less, and as long as it is one does not turn away from it.

The interest of the *malik*, as these ravages grew worse with increase of years, turned to ennui and his passion changed to indifference.

> *I used to fear the cruelty of slender damsels when I grew older,*
> *But my grey bairs brought an indifference towards them greater than I had expected.*
> [268] *I feared they would turn away from me, and behold! it is I who turn away from them.*

[18] I.e. he began to learn the rudiments of writing, though there is probably an obscene secondary meaning.

Finally, an edict arrived from Court that Chin-Temür was to proceed to Khorasan with the army of Khorazm and assist Chormaghun in the subjugation of that country. Chin-Temür asked for secretaries but no person of any standing was willing to accompany the expedition for two reasons: first because of the intention of laying waste a Moslem country and secondly because of the uncertainty of the final outcome. However the *malik* of Khorazm compelled Sharaf-ad-Din and by force he departed in his service.

The faces of beardless youths are shining and their teeth are tempting.
And they are full of blandishments and amorous gestures, and their powers of wheedling are strong.
But when hair appears on the clean surface of the face,
It separates friend from friend in the manner of Death.[19]

O thou who hast pawned a rose-garden for thorns,
Since thou hast grown thorns, be off with thee and reap thorns.
There was a time when I said: 'Come hither, O handsome one!'
Now I say to thee: 'Begone, thou ugly face!'

He was given a one-eyed donkey and mounting it like Dajjal[20] (*'a wasp riding a scorpion into a serpent's hole'*) he set out on his journey, wherein he endured a hundred thousand privations.

This smoke-reeking wretch, this kinless fool.
Had no acquaintance in any town, no relations in any place.

When he had been some time in Chin-Temür's service he had mastered the Turkish language and apart from him no other interpreter was employed.

When affairs are in a state of confusion a fool is raised to eminence, by whose elevation harm is done to eminence,
Just as, if thou stirrest water, the dregs at the bottom of the vessel rise to the surface.[21]

[19] Abu-Muhammad Tahir b. al-Husain. Quoted in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 23.
[20] Dajjāl (see above, p. 530) will appear riding on a strange, monstrous donkey.
[21] Abul-Qasim al-Husain b. 'Ali. Quoted in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima.* (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 25.

[269] Now the affairs of Khorasan were in a state of turmoil and commotion and the fires of insurrection and disturbance ablaze; but though the land was trampled underfoot by the passage of the armies, the population was not entirely annihilated, because when a district or village surrendered the Mongols would be satisfied with only a little fodder and ten ells of linen, or at most a hundred, according to the size of the place, and would withdraw the hand of molestation; and even when they took a village by force of arms they would, it is true, carry off all the cattle and clothing they could lay their hands on, but such as had been spared by the sword they did not torment with torture and mutilation. For at first the Mongols paid no attention to gold and jewels, but when Chin-Temür was established in office, this noble, in order to make a show of efficiency, rendered money sweet in their hearts, like Iblis who cast into men's hearts a love for the flowers of this world and made that love the source of every calamity. And wherever he came and wherever his forces passed he would impose a tax upon those who submitted, and whenever a place was taken by storm, the people would be racked with tortures until they surrendered all that they had; and even then their lives would not be spared; and such as it was considered profitable to save ransomed their lives with gold --and in this present age the people's pride is that most of them purchased their lives with gold. And so it went on until Khorasan and Mazandaran were crushed under the stones of the calamity of this revolving mill and rendered as lowly as the earth beneath the footsteps of Destiny.

The affairs of this region were now firmly settled upon Chin-Temür, and disturbing influences were swept aside and factious persons uprooted. And now this aforementioned scoundrel, who after living in poverty and indigence had become the possessor of male and female camels and enriched himself through the heart's blood of orphans and widows *(God Almighty hath said: 'On that day their treasures shall be heated in hell fire, and their foreheads shall be branded with them')*,[22] was, because of his previous services and the concealment of men of proficiency,

[22] Koran, ix, 35.

appointed *ulugh-bitikchi*; and the eye of Learning and Grandeur wept tears of blood whilst uttering these sentiments:

[270] *The face of the age hath been reversed and the neck hath become the face, O marvel!*
The head hath fallen from its rank and after its glory hath become a tail.
And the donkey, after his lowly estate, hath been saddled with the saddle of leopards [23] *[and] crowned with gold.*
How many spurious sons, the offspring of adultery, are there who do not claim the most noble of men as their father!
Fate hath aided and guided them, and they have acquired wealth and laid claim to consideration.

And in every district where taxes were being assessed or collected he would record the matter on scraps of paper in a hand such as greengrocers use, until such time as some of the chief men of Khorasan entered these details into the records and account-books. And so matters continued until Chin-Temür died and was succeeded by Nosal, when this wicked man betook himself to the Court of Batu and obtained a *yarligh* confirming him in the office to which he had been appointed. When Körgüz came to power he continued in the same office and was assigned to the same duties. Now Körgüz was renowned for his shrewdness and efficiency, and under him Sharaf-ad-Din was no longer able to issue orders or even to draw breath without his instructions; he could oppress no one nor could he bring wrongful charges against the defenceless. On this account he kept urging Edgü-Temür, the son of Chin-Temür, to seek his father's office, and in secret he would send messenger after messenger to him writing reports on Körgüz and planting the sapling of rebellion in his heart, whereas overtly he breathed the breath of agreement with Körgüz and joined with him in enmity towards Edgü-Temür. 'Be a woman that is a woman or a man that is a man.' His evil suggestions took root in Edgü-Temür's heart and he sent a messenger to the Court of Qa'an to report on the activities of Körgüz. And from the Court of the World-Emperor there was dispatched the Emir Arghun with several

[23] I.e. leopard-skin coverings.

nökers to investigate the position and collect the taxes. When they arrived in Khorasan, Sharaf-ad-Din continued to tread the path of hypocrisy and he accompanied Körgüz to Court in the guise of an attendant. When they arrived he was still as before an attendant on Körgüz and a talebearer to Edgü-Temür. When the grace and favour of Qa'an were lavished on Körgüz and his opponents were discomfited, some of Edgü-Temür's followers being well bastinadoed [271], one of these latter gave Körgüz a register which that two-faced one had kept in a scrawling hand resembling flyblow. All doubt now vanished that the greater part of those disturbances had been stirred up by the suggestions of that accursed wretch, and the reports of that wicked man, and the words of that hyena. The true state of affairs was brought to the notice of the Just King and Wise Emperor, Qa'an, through the mouth of the Emir Chinqai, and he spoke as follows: 'His very shape and form speak of worthless evil and mischief. If he accompanies Körgüz he will turn his head away from the path of righteousness and by his rascality and cunning the affairs of those countries that have been entrusted to Körgüz will be diverted from the ways of truth. He must be sent somewhere else lest the concerns and interests of Khorasan be thrown into confusion.'

When Sharaf-ad-Din became aware of the position he was apprehensive of Körgüz's revenge and was only too pleased to remain behind and stay in the *ordu*. However certain persons pressed Körgüz with the following arguments. 'Sharaf-ad-Din,' they said, 'is a feeble enemy such as wise men in all ages have striven to deal with before the opportunity was past and they had cause for regret; regarding negligence in such cases as being contrary and foreign to perfect wisdom and farsightedness and realizing that this world of growth and decay is not without its vicissitudes and accidents. If he remains here, let him not find some chink or breach and avail himself of an opportunity to stir up trouble and mischief.' And Körgüz would say: 'He is a snake that has escaped from the snake-catcher's basket. Whoever lays hands on him should be told: "*Let evil be.*"' However as a measure of prudence and precaution these people

persisted in their arguments until Körgüz too was convinced. Accordingly permission was sought for Sharaf-ad-Din's return on the pretext that the accounts of Khorasan and Mazandaran had not yet been settled and it was undesirable that the *mutasarrifs* and tax officials should, on account of his absence, attribute [the cause of] some deficit to him and the revenue of the Divan suffer in consequence. And that oppressor without an equal was at the royal command sent back without a *yarligh*. Körgüz displayed no sign of anger or displeasure towards him; but when he crossed the Oxus and the emirs, *maliks* and chief men of Khorasan and Iraq came to greet [272] him, no one paid any attention to Sharaf-ad-Din and he proceeded to and fro unaccompanied like one of the people.

The true vizier is he who is a vizier when he is dismissed.
When control over a province is lost, he regains control over his own virtues.

When they finally reached Tus he was seized and placed in a *cangue*, Körgüz having arranged with the ministers while he was still in the *ordu* that Sharaf-ad-Din was to be arrested and his crimes investigated [upon their return]. Sharaf-ad-Din made a full confession and a messenger was dispatched to Court to report thereon. The messenger had travelled half the journey thither when Qa'an's death occurred and the roads were closed and the doors of mischief opened. He turned back and came to Körgüz. Meanwhile Sharaf-ad-Din was kept in custody being entrusted every so often to the care of a different *malik*. Now at the time when he was imprisoned and cast like Abu-Lahab into the chains of calamity and torture, *the female laden with firewood*,[24] that is his wife, had sent messengers to report his plight at the courts of the princes. Some of these were arrested en route and did not reach their destination but one of them did reach the court of Ulugh-Ef; and it so happened that certain

[24] See Koran, cxi, where it is stated that Mohammed's uncle, Abu-Lahab ('the Father of Flame'), who at his wife's instigation had rejected his nephew's claim to the Prophecy, shall be burnt '*at the fiery flame, and his wife laden with fire wood,—on her neck a rope of palm fibre*'.

emirs had at that time been nominated to summon Körgüz: they were now entrusted with the case of Sharaf-ad-Din also. By the time they arrived in Tus, however, Sharaf-ad-Din had been handed over to Mahmud Shah of Sabzavar to be put to death. Now Mahmud was notorious for the feebleness of his intellect, the crassness of his ignorance, his disregard of the commands and prohibitions of God and his lawless behaviour *(ibāḥat)* in confiscating the goods and shedding the blood of Moslems; and the idea was that if some enemy made a charge against him he too might be implicated and in this way two birds might be killed with one stone and two rogues got rid of with a single device. However, the floodwater of the tribulation of the people of Khorasan had not yet passed and one draught of the wine of adversity was still left in their cup, and before [273] that benefit could be effected there came news of the arrival of the messengers. As a precautionary measure Körgüz sent a man to Sabzavar with instructions that the case of Sharaf-ad-Din should be held up and nothing done in a hurry—and yet '*calamities arise from delay*' and it is recorded of 'Ali *(upon whom be peace!)* that he said: '*I have recognized my Lord through the abrogation of resolves and the breaking of decisions.*' Mahmud Shah of Sabzavar perceived that the temper of the world was now in agreement with his own ideas, that the sword of rebellion had been drawn from the scabbard of the age, that sleeping Strife had awoken and the infant Days grown weary of their mother, Security. He therefore began to treat Sharaf-ad-Din with honour and respect. When the emissaries arrived they arrested Körgüz and sent a messenger to fetch Sharaf-ad-Din. The messenger brought him back and he had hardly arrived before he opened his hands in tyranny and oppression, attacking the leaders and ill-treating the people. '*What is bred in the bone will out in the flesh.*'[25] And he broke the treaties and covenants which he had made with the Court of Power and Glory in the days of retirement and the nights of tribulation. *God Almighty hath said: 'Whoever shall break his oath shall only break it to his own hurt.'*[26]

[25] This appears to be the meaning of the corrupt Arabic.

[26] Koran, xlviii, 10.

He extorted and confiscated as much as was possible in the time and then set out for Court in the company of the emissaries.

Upon reaching Ulugh-Ef he sought to argue his case with Körgüz in the *yarghu*. But Körgüz so trounced [27] him that his tongue was caught in the 'shut-out' [28] of fatigue and his spirit imprisoned in the 'bar' [29] of perplexity and shame. One of the emirs then turned to him and said: 'This misfortune has befallen Körgüz because of some slip or shortcoming that was reported about him. He has not been involved in this trouble because of your cleverness. It would be more in your interest [274] to make apologies than to engage in strife, because if he is acquitted of this charge, you will then be no match for him.'

Setting out from thence they came to Töregene Khatun, who on account of an ancient grudge she bore him neglected Körgüz's interests and threw his affairs into confusion, whilst showing innumerable favours to the Emir Arghun and holding him in great honour. Through the Emir Arghun's mediation Sharaf-ad-Din's affairs were mended. He received a mandate [30] and assessed the arrears of revenue in Khorasan and Mazandaran at 4,000 gold *balish*, which sum he undertook to collect. He accordingly returned in the suite of the Emir Arghun and upon arriving in Khorasan took over the whole administration of finance.

He vanquished the world by his effort and rose up thereby;
and the world fell on its face and chest.[31]

The Emir Arghun also placed all business in his hands, but when he reached Dihistan he was sent for by Batu. Because of the Emir Arghun's protection and influence and because, too, of the necessity of collecting the arrears of taxes he was saved from that abyss also, because though he was several times brought to trial there was no other party to speak against him. When he returned the Emir Arghun had gone to Tabriz: he did not

[27] Lit. 'pounded his dice' (*ka'batain-i-ū-rā bāz mālīd*). This expression means 'to get the better of an adversary', but probably meant originally 'to beat someone in backgammon', as would appear from the context.

[28] *shish-dar.* [29] *hijāb.* [30] *misāl,* probably a *yarligh.*

[31] Abu-Muhammad al-Yazidi, a poet of the *Hamasa*. See Tabrizi, *Sharh-al-Hamasa*, Bulaq ed., IV, 57. (M.Q.)

hold rein till he had joined him there. Whilst Körgüz was still alive he could venture on no great enterprises, but when he received the news of his death, he set his hand to what was demanded by his doltish ambition and unclean purpose, and inborn in his nature, and comprehended by his character, viz. the raising of the flames of tyranny and the stirring up of treachery—

For every vessel drips what is in it.

As for the taxes he had undertaken to collect, the hundredth part thereof was no longer available in any locality in such a form that it might be regularly levied *(bi-vajh-i-mu'āmala)*, and he began to seize and confiscate property and appointed tax-collectors to each of the lands for each individual *(musammā)* [275] province; and the gist of his written instructions was that they should show favour or consideration to none but should demand cash of the wealthy, since it was gold that was needed, not accounts or registers. They accordingly extracted whatever they could from such as had any property, whilst he himself made his headquarters at Tabriz and set about the financial administration of that area. He imposed upon the Moslems a tax beyond the strength and endurance of each individually *(musammā)*, noble and base, leaders and led, rich and poor, pious and wicked, old and young; and appointed a number of vile, impious wretches as bailiffs to bend the heads of the mighty to the feet of abasement. Certain pious men of God, such as the strangers to religion have exempted from extraordinary contributions *(mu'an va 'avārizāt)* and whom they regard with the eye of respect and honour, addressed him by way of advice and admonishment and asked that the citizens of the town in general and themselves in particular might be spared these impositions. However he received them with contempt and scorn and turned a stone-deaf ear to the words of truth.

He greeted them with a frowning face as though the feeding
of God's servants were his responsibility.[32]

Instead he doubled the levy upon them and insisted upon its

[32] Attributed in the *Hamasa* to an unnamed woman. See Tabrizi, *loc. cit.* (M.Q.)

exaction. *God the Blessed and Exalted hath said, speaking through Noah (upon whom be peace!): 'So oft as I cry to them, that thou mayest forgive them, they thrust their fingers into their ears, and wrap themselves in their garments, and persist in their error, and are disdainfully disdainful.'* [33] And it often happened that widows and orphans, on whom there is no charge in the law of God nor impost in the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan, would approach him begging for mercy, and he would loosen the tongue of abuse and vituperation and close the road of lenity and indulgence, laying the hand of repulsion upon their brows so that they withdrew frustrated and disappointed. [276] The Emir Arghun would then order the amount about which they were protesting to be paid from his own private treasury. And in the town there rose to the Heaven the screaming of women and the wailing of orphans, the supplications of the good and the lamentations of the wicked, cries for help from the oppressed and imprecations from the poor. In every corner there was torture; in every house was quartered a stranger and there was a bailiff in every home; and neither fear of God could prevent nor reproaches and shame before all the world preclude. It is of this situation that the late Sayyid Mujtaba speaks in the following lines:

> Beware, one must strive to keep one's honour.
> And this time one must strive to keep one's honour.
> They do not give quarter and they demand gold—
> One must still strive to keep one's honour!

Having swept clean the floor of Tabriz he proceeded from thence to Qazvin, which is a city of unitarians and a frontier of Islam.[34] He arrived in Ramazan of the year 642 [February 1245] and took up his abode in the palace of the *malik*. The chief men were then summoned to him and he fixed a tax upon each of them individually *(musammā)* confining them on the roof of the palace without food or water; and he did not let them out at the time of the *iftar* [35] nor did he permit anyone

[33] Koran, lxxi, 6.
[34] Against the Isma'ilis, who were not regarded as Moslems.
[35] The *ifṭār* is the light meal at sunset with which Moslems break the fast during Ramazan.

to bring food to them. He appointed tax-collectors to each individual quarter, and set over the people a crowd of base-born wretches, who for two loaves would set fire to a hundred persons; and so was the honour of the chivalrous trampled in the dust of abasement and their reputation and property cast to the winds; and he imposed upon great and small a burden beyond endurance. Because of punishment by torture and mutilation the groans and supplications of the wretched and the deep sighs of the whole population arose to high heaven. And yet brother might not condole with brother though he saw him at the stake, nor father relieve son, nor kinsman come to the aid of kinsman even though all his blood were being shed. During the few days Sharaf-ad-Din was there the people experienced '*that day wherein a man shall fly from his brother and his mother and his father*'.[36] And how many persons [277] were there who pledged the freedom of their children, aye and who sold their own selves! A person lying on his death-bed had been charged with a trifling amount. When he had died and had been prepared for burial the tax-collectors returned to demand the tax, and there being nothing else they seized the winding-sheet and left the dead man as he was. Certain of the weak and poor, seeing no other recourse in their extreme impotence and helplessness, made their way to the cell of the *shaikh-al-Islam*, the cream of mankind, Jamal-al-Milla vad-Din al-Jili (*may God be gracious to all Moslems by lengthening his shadow!*), in the hope that he might give some advice to his vile wretch. Upon reflection he gave his opinion in auspicious language in the following terms: 'The darkness of oppression has become a screen before his murky heart, which is an example of what is meant by "*hard like rocks or harder still*"[37] and has cut off the light of auspiciousness and faith therefrom. Advice can produce no more effect upon it than rain upon a hard stone. However, we should be light of heart, for the archers of the dawn have from the thumb of prayer discharged at the target of his life a shaft wherefrom the wound is not yet evident.

[36] Koran, lxxx, 34-5.

[37] *Ibid.*, ii, 69.

If the arrow is quivering in the midst of the entrails
how can shields protect the man against it?

However, I wish to be in partnership with you in this calamity and to share with you in the endurance of this oppression, and of the stipend which I receive annually from the Supreme Divan [38] *(may it continue supreme!)* there remain but five dinars, and apart from that there is nought of the vanities of this world laid up in the inner or outer chambers of my house.' And he gave orders for this sum to be given to them.

Having seized all that he could [278] Sharaf-ad-Din now betook himself to Ray, where he repeated his reprehensible practices, which had the effect of a purgative upon the goods of Moslems; for he would bring unveiled women and bare-footed men out of their houses and lay hands upon their property. Hither came the tax-collectors from other places such as Isfahan, Qum, Kashan, Hamadan etc., bringing the sums they had collected. He ordered it all to be taken into the Friday mosque, the beasts of burden being driven inside the precincts. On the day of departure there was insufficient material for packing cases and he personally supervised the use of the mosque carpets for this purpose.

Setting out from thence he sent someone on in advance to impose a tax upon the people of Damghan greater than it was in their power to pay. When the tax-collectors arrived they hanged women by their breasts and men by their feet. Finally in their despair the inhabitants of Damghan turned to the Heretics and surrendered their town to them. The Heretics came and killed some people but carried most of them off to the castle of Girdkuh. They destroyed the citadel by flooding it and levelled its walls with the street, planting corn on the site. They likewise laid waste the town and all the houses.

As for Amul, Astarabad and Kabud-Jama they were in like case.

Sharaf-ad-Din sent Mahmud Shah to collect the taxes from Isfarayin, Juvain, Jajarm, Jurbad and all the territories under the

[38] I.e. the Divan of the Caliphate.

malik Nizam-ad-Din. Because of the fanatical behaviour of the Shiites towards the Sunnites and because of an ancient quarrel between Mahmud Shah and the chief men of Isfarayin the fire of oppression flared up to such an extent that Hajjaj[39] had never practised the like, so that the greater part of the people were ruined with bankruptcy and the honour of most of them cast to the wind. Sharaf-ad-Din likewise sent emissaries to Abivard to seize the *malik* Ikhtiyar-ad-Din, upon whose life he harboured secret designs, let alone his property.

[279] When Sharaf-ad-Din reached Ustuva he lodged near the Shrine *(mashhad)*.[40] The custodian of the Shrine approached the Emir Arghun, who gave him alms and ordered the granting of a patent *(parvāna)* for the rebuilding of the Shrine and the tilling of the land with oxen *(dirāz-dunbāl)*. The patent coming into the hands of this catamite, ignorant of affairs and oblivious of the Creator, he ordered the custodian to be so soundly boxed about the ears that he fell stunned and at once lost consciousness. A month having elapsed since Nauruz he turned the oxen *(chahār-pāyān)* loose amongst the corn.

By the time he reached Tus the malady which he had first contracted in Tabriz had grown worse and it was only with an effort that he could stay on his feet.

> *My endurance of the malicious is to show that I will not be shaken by the uncertainties of Fate.*[41]

And the Angel of Death having sharpened the teeth of Doom spoke with the tongue of Destiny:

> *And when Death spreads out her claws thou shalt find no amulet of any avail.*[41]

Finally his strength failed and his infirmity gained the upper hand. He took to his bed, being no longer able to walk; and he became blind in the right eye.

[39] The Umayyad viceroy of Arabian Iraq, famous for his severity.

[40] I.e. Meshed.

[41] From a famous *qasida* by Abu-Dhu'aib al-Hudhali, an elegy on his children. See the *Khizanat-al-Adab*, Bulaq ed., I, 202. (M.Q.)

Thou didst drink, as in a goblet, the blood of the innocent:
the time has now come to turn up the cup.

But though he lay on the bedding and mattress of death, he still did not remove the cotton of ignorance from his ears, and still the belly of his avarice was not filled. He was constantly opening his mouth and placing his tongue on his palate to say: 'So-and-so must pay so much and such-and-such a one so much.' The turn came even for his own relations, and he attacked the gains of his very wife and upon her too he imposed a tax of 10,000 dinars. He was now overcome with pain such as the physicians were powerless to deal with, and he recognized within him the assaults of the Angel of Death and [280] realized that resistance to this foe would be impossible. Calling an assembly he made his will and sent the following message to the Emir Arghun: 'I am on the point of death and there is no hope of recovery. If the slightest change is made in any measure that I have instituted or in any tax that I have imposed upon anyone, or if some deficiency should occur in these matters, then the whole basis of administration will be thrown into confusion. As for those persons whom it has been decided to put out of the way, their lives should on no account be spared.'

His message had not yet reached the Emir Arghun before he had departed in haste '*unto the fire of God and His hell*'. The Emir Arghun abolished all the taxes he had instituted and released all prisoners from their bonds. All creation regarded Sharaf-ad-Din's death as a wondrous relief and considered the departure of the calamity of his dishonour to herald the coming of the good things of this world. *God Almighty hath said: 'Now are the two seas alike: the one fresh, sweet, pleasant for drink, and the other salt, bitter.'*[42] *Glory be to God, Who createth what He will in His might!* On the one hand He brings into existence a person such as this and makes him the target of men's curses, and on the other hand He makes a man like the Minister Yalavach Mahmud the centre-point of men's hopes and ambitions; and some He afflicts with the former calamity whilst to others He grants the latter blessings.

[42] Koran, xxxv, 13.

Things are far removed from things which resemble them :
the sky is like water in blueness.[43]

At the time when this vile wretch was in Tabriz Jamal-ad-Din 'Ali of Tafrish, one of the chief men of Iraq, whom his opponents, either from jealousy or because it was a fact, accused of being a bringer of ill-luck, joined his service and was associated in his actions. Sharaf-ad-Din raised him up because of his help and support in wickedness and oppression after he had been shackled with dismissal and seclusion by [281] the hand of the people's forebodings. '*For some tyrants are better than others.*' After appointing him Sharaf-ad-Din died, and every contemporary has composed a poem on the subject, of which the following is one:

Alas for the passing of Simal-ad-Din[44] *on whose survival*
depended the grandeur of the Faith!
They have written on the plaster on his tomb : 'This is
the work of the sadr, *Jamal-ad-Din.*'

And a poet from Tabriz called Zujaji wrote the following *qit'a* :

O lucky Jamal 'Ali, all the world is glad because of thee.
Thou didst follow him as far as Tus, and in the end he did
not escape thee.
For fear of thee, O Master, the Lord of the Age will not
come out.
The Master of the World, O luckless one, departed from
Tabriz in flight before thee.
No mortal is safe from thee [even] if
he flees to Heaven from thee.

And another contemporary composed the following:

There has died one who revived wicked customs of tyranny
and rose in rebellion against God.

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[43] Attributed by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima* both to Abu-Diyā al-Himsi and to Abur-Rumma al-Fusaisi. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 27 and 73.

[44] Ṣimāl-ad-Dīn means 'Protector of the Faith': it is also possible to read Ṣumāl-ad-Dīn, 'Poison of the Faith'. The reference is of course to Sharaf-ad-Din.

The announcement of his death came to us at a time when
it was a cool—[45] *to our burning liver.*
Sirs, long may ye live in prosperity! Recite to one
another: 'I asked a courier coming from Khorasan . . .'[46]

[282] Those who have seen Sharaf-ad-Din and known of his actions will realize that what has been related about his practices is nothing but a sample, and a brief summary of a lengthy tale, and one part in a thousand, and a little out of much. But Heaven forbid that readers of these lines who did not witness his deeds should accuse the writer of exaggeration and charge him with malice,[47] which springs from baseness and pusillanimity and whereof the Prophet *(peace and blessings upon him!)* hath said: '*Malice is a vile thing.*' But even if a man might hope to escape from this abyss, yet malice, which comes from vileness and cowardice, would still not be seemly.

Say to them that rejoice at our discomfiture: 'Come to
your senses, for those who rejoice at our misfortunes
shall themselves encounter what we have encountered.'[48]

However, the man who is guided by God derives some advantage from whatever he may consider; and from this event he will draw the full moral: he will strive after good works and will avoid and eschew anything in the world or in religion that might contribute to his decline or bring about his ruin: so may he achieve good fame in this present world and attain his just desires in the world to come, if God Almighty so will.

Live in such a way that when thou diest thou shalt be free;
live not in such a way that when thou diest [others] will be free.

---

[45] A corrupt word.

[46] The beginning of two famous lines by the Minister Ibn-'Abbad upon the death of Abu-Bakr Khuwarizmi:

I asked a courier coming from Khorasan: 'Has your Khuwarizmi died?' I was told 'Yes'.
I said: 'Write on the plaster of his tomb: "Hath not God cursed whomsoever concealeth blessings?"' (M.Q.)

[47] *shamātat:* more precisely 'Schadenfreude'.

[48] Attributed in the *Hamasa* to Farazdaq, in *al-Hamasa al-Buhturiya* to Mālik b. 'Amr al-Asadi and in the *Khizanat-al-Adab* to Dhul-Asba' al-'Adwani. (M.Q.)

THE THIRD PART

OF

JUVAINI'S

HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
May the Lord prosper it!

[DOXOLOGY]

PRAISE and thanksgiving unto God, by the beam of Whose brightness and purity the radiant stars are resplendent and by Whose will and command the revolving heavens are maintained in motion; the Worshipful One, to worship Whom is meet; the Giver, to ask from any other than Whom doth not taste sweet; the Maker of being out of nothingness, and then the Maker of nothingness out of being; Who raiseth thralls from baseness to nobility and casteth down the haughty from their sovereignty; Whom royalty becometh and divinity befitteth. Seek greatness and eminence at His Court alone; whatever is not He is all mere ornament, and deceit, and frivolity; whoever out of ignorance chooseth Him not ruin overtaketh him: the existence of all that beareth the name of existence pertaineth unto Him; good and evil, profit and loss issue from Him.

[2] To the world Thou art loftiness and lowliness; I know not what Thou art, all that is Thou art.[1]

And blessings upon the last prophet, the leader of the former prophets; the loosener of every bond and the dispenser of every counsel; who showed the way to the lost and abhorred not the sinners amongst his own; who was sent unto man and peri and taught on behalf of justice; whose name hath been praised by every tongue, and whose voice hath been heard by every ear!

[1] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1003, l. 736.

And blessings likewise upon his chosen friends and laudable kinsmen, as long as wind, and water, and fire, and earth are active in creation, and the rose upon fresh, green branches is the bedfellow of the thorn ! [2]

[INTRODUCTION]

WHEREAS in the previous volume [1] we have recorded the circumstances of the rise of Chingiz-Khan and his conquest of the climes, the accession of Qa'an and Güyük Khan and the particulars of the events that occurred during their reigns, in accordance with our knowledge thereof, and have likewise recounted the history of the Sultans of Khorazm and other lords of the marches, to the extent of the information at our disposal, from the first beginnings of each of them until the end of their days; we shall now in this further volume [2] describe the accession of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an and the events and circumstances, both past and present, of his Khanate, the advance of the World-Prince Hülegü against the lands of the West and the particular circumstances of the kings of the age and the monarchs of the time, in allegiance and rebellion, from the beginning to the end. And in all cases we seek the pardon of the All Highest for our actions and words, and beg to be excused for slips of the pen and faults of style, and look for forgiveness from the abundance of [God's] unstinting grace, than which the sinner has not other protection.

[2] This passage, in the original, is written in rhyming prose (which I have imitated in one instance !) and the language is pure Persian, i.e. words of Arabic origin have been deliberately excluded. One such word however, *havas* 'frivolity', has been admitted, probably because of the exigencies of the rhyme.

[1] *mujallad-i-pishina.*

[2] *mujallad-i-digar.* On Juvaini's original division of his work into two volumes see the Introduction, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

[I]

[3] OF ULUGH-NOYAN[1] AND SORQOTANI[2] BEKI

By the *yasa* and custom of the Mongols the father's place passes to the youngest son by the chief wife. Such was Ulugh-Noyan, but it was Chingiz-Khan's *yasa* that Ögetei should be Khan and in obedience to his father's command Ulugh-Noyan went to great pains in order to set Qa'an upon the throne of the Khanate and was most assiduous in his exertions to establish him firmly upon the seat of kingship. For between the brothers, and especially between Qa'an and himself, there was affection beyond the degree of brotherhood.

The love between us surpassed that of kinship, and what kinsmen rate (high) became mean [by comparison].[3]

He accompanied Qa'an on the campaign against Khitai and, as has already been recorded,[4] accomplished that mission with determination, energy, competence and valour, on which account those eastern provinces were reduced and subjugated.

Upon his return with his will and desire achieved, [4] the world his thrall and the heavens subservient to his wishes, he became excessively addicted to the circulating of cups of wine from morn till eve, and a malady over took him such that two or three days did not pass before he died.[5]

Such is ever the wont of the Blue Circle; when it sees contentment it swiftly brings about its decline.

Qa'an was greatly distressed on this account and much agitated

[1] I.e. Toli (Tolui). See above, i, 150, n. 1.

[2] On the spelling of her name see above, i, 108, n. 37.

[3] Quoted above, II, 260 [ii, 524]. (M.Q.)

[4] See above, i, 191–5.

[5] Such was no doubt the truth of the matter, for the Mongols were great drunkards. The facts have however been curiously idealized in the Mongol version of Tolui's end. Ögedei had fallen sick during the Chinese campaign, and his illness was ascribed by the shamans to his being possessed by the local water spirits. Tolui offered himself as an expiatory victim, drank a bowl of water over which the shamans had pronounced their incantations and shortly afterwards died. See the *Secret History*, § 272, also Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 220–1.

and disturbed. And as long as he lived he passed his time in recalling and lamenting his companionship and association with him.

And when we parted it was as though Malik and I, for all the length of our union, had not passed a single night together.[6]

And whenever in his morning and evening cups wine had gained the upper hand in his veins and drunkenness firmly planted its foot, Qa'an would weep and would say: 'The reason for my constant application to wine is the onslaught of sorrow which arises from grievous separation, and I therefore choose to be drunk in order that perchance for a while I may find relief in my heart from the agitation of that sorrow.'

Drunkenness is sweet because it separates the *I* from the *I*, otherwise how should sense countenance senselessness?

After [5] Ulugh-Noyan's death Qa'an commanded that as long as he lived affairs of state should be administered in accordance with the counsel of his wife Sorqotani Beki, the niece of Ong-Khan, by whom he had his eldest sons, Mengü Qa'an, Qubilai, Hülegü and Arigh Böke, and that the above-mentioned sons, the army and the people, great and small, should be under the control of her command and prohibition, her loosening and binding, and should not turn their heads from her commandment. Now in the management and education of all her sons, in the administration of affairs of state, in the maintenance of dignity and prestige and in the execution of business, Beki, by the nicety of her judgement and discrimination, constructed such a basis and for the strengthening of these edifices laid such a foundation that no turban-wearer[7] *(kulāh-dār)* would have been capable of the like or could have dealt with these matters with the like brilliance. In any business which Qa'an undertook, whether with regard to the weal of the Empire or the disposal

[6] From the famous elegy of Mutammim b. Nuwaira on his brother Mālik. (M.Q.)

[7] I.e. *man*. Cf. above, I, 84, ('both wearers of the veil and those that donned *kulah* and turban') and I, 100, ('both such as donned *kulah* and turban and such as wore kerchief and veil'.)

of the army, he used first to consult and confer with her and would suffer no change or alteration of whatever she recommended. The ambassadors and *elchis* too held her in great honour and respect; [6] and the dependents and subjects of her Court in nearest and farthest East and West were distinguished from those of all the other princes by the dignity and protection they enjoyed, and [8] because of her zealous concern for each of them individually their lives were contented and carefree. And the tax-gatherers, the *shahnas* and the army, for fear of her punishment and discipline, were fain to deal equitably with the people. And whenever there was a *quriltai* or assembly of the princes, and there was great elegance, and decoration, and adornment, and embellishment on the part of everybody, she was distinguished above them all with respect both to her retinue and to her troops. And her protection was such that when during the reign of Qa'an certain *maliks* were involved in a dispute with some of her dependents regarding the tax and *qupchur* to be levied on her subjects [9] and had committed excesses, she sent messengers to have the *maliks* brought to her presence and after the establishment of evidence had them put to death.

As for her control and management of her sons, though each of them is a khan and a personality in the mould of his intellect, and superior to all [other] princes in shrewdness and sagacity, [7] nevertheless, whenever by reason of the occurrence of a death they awaited the accession of a new khan, she would allow no change or alteration of the ancient ordinances or *yasas*, although, in fact, they had the licence of authority and of command and prohibition. So it was that when Güyük Khan was raised to the Khanate and there was search and inquiry as to which of the princes had deviated from the *yasa* and established custom and had issued *paizas* and *yarlighs*, he commanded that every order and *paiza* that had been issued since the death of Qa'an should be withdrawn. And in the *quriltai*, in the presence of all, most of the decrees which they had issued with regard to the assignment of taxes and the appointment and dismissal of tax-gatherers

[8] Omitting *dar sharq va gharb* 'in the East and the West' with G.

[9] *ra'iyatān-i-khāṣṣa*, i.e. her private subjects, the dependents of her Private Purse.

were laid before the princes [responsible for them]. All were put to shame save only Beki and her sons, who had not swerved a hair's breadth from the law, and this because of her great wisdom, self-discipline and consideration of the latter end of things, whereof even wise and experienced *men* are negligent.

> *And if women were like unto her, then would women be superior to men.*[10]

And at the time of the accession of Mengü Qa'an to the throne of the Khanate the same thing happened again, because after Güyük Khan's death everyone had issued his own decrees.

As for Beki, from the time [8] when Ulugh-Noyan passed away, she had won favour on all sides by the bestowing of gifts and presents upon her family and kindred and dispensing largesse to troops and strangers and so rendered all subject to her will and planted love and affection in everyone's heart and soul, so that when the death of Güyük Khan occurred most men were agreed and of one mind as to the entrusting of the keys of the Khanate to her son Mengü Qa'an. For the report of her wisdom and prudence and the fame of her counsel and sagacity had spread to all parts, and none would gainsay her word.

Furthermore, in the management of her household and in the ceremonial of her court she laid for kinsmen and stranger such a foundation as the khans of the world had not been capable of.

And so she continued until the time when God Almighty through the mediation of her experience laid the bride of kingship in the bosom of Mengü Qa'an's distinction. And her hand was ever open in munificence and benefaction, and although she was a follower and devotee of the religion of Jesus she would bestow alms and presents upon *imams* and *shaikhs* and strove also to revive the sacred observances of the faith of Mohammed *(may God bless him and give him peace!)*. And the token [9] and proof of this statement is that she gave 1000 silver *balish* that a college *(madrasa)* might be built in Bokhara, of which pious foundation the *shaikh-al-Islam* Saif-ad-Din of Bakharz should be admin-

[10] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

istrator and superintendent; and she commanded that villages should be bought, an endowment made and teachers and students accommodated [in the college]. And always she would send alms to all parts to be distributed among the poor and needy of the Moslems; and so she continued until in Zul-Hijja of the year 649 [February–March, 1252], when the Destroyer of Delights sounded the note of departure.

[II]

OF BACHMAN [1] AND HIS DESTRUCTION

WHEN Qa'an dispatched Mengü Qa'an, Batu and the other princes to conquer the countries of the Bulghar, As [2] and Rus and the Qifchaq, Alan [2] and other tribes, all those regions were cleared of mischief-makers and such as had escaped the sword bowed their heads in submission. However, one of the discomfited Qifchaq chieftains [10], a man called Bachman, had evaded pursuit together with a band of Qifchaq warriors, and he had been joined by other fugitives. Having no lair or hiding-place to serve as base he betook himself every day and every night to a different spot. And because of his dog-like nature he would strike wolf-like on every side and make off with something. Gradually his evil grew worse and he wrought greater mischief; and wherever the army sought him they could not find him since he had departed elsewhere and hidden his tracks.

Most of his refuges and hiding-places were on the banks of the Etil.[3] Here he would lie concealed in the forests, from which he would spring out like a jackal, seize hold of something and hide himself once again. Prince Mengü Qa'an ordered 200

[1] BJMN. The Pa-ch'ih-man, i.e. Bachman, of the *Yüan shih*. See Pelliot, *À propos des Comans*, 166.

[2] This separate mention of the As and the Alan makes one wonder whether Juvaini did not realize that they were one and the same people, the ancestors of the present-day Ossetes. On the other hand it may be that the As formed the western part of the federation, particularly in the territory later occupied by the Bulghar Turks. (V.M.)

[3] I.e. the Volga. See above, i, 267, n. 4.

boats to be constructed and 100 fully armed Mongols to be set in each. Then he and his brother Böchek [4] formed a *nerge* [5] on either side of the river. Coming to one of the forests along the Etil they found the traces of an encampment that had been vacated that very morning: broken waggons and [11] the dung of men and beasts lying around. Amidst all this rubbish they caught sight of a sick old woman. They asked her what had happened, who the horsemen were, and where, and of what manner. They discovered that Bachman had decamped that very moment and taken refuge on an island in the middle of the river and that all the animals and wares he had stolen in the course of his depredations were likewise on that island. They had no boats with them, and the river was billowing like a sea so that it was impossible to swim in it, let alone ride a horse. Suddenly a wind sprang up and blew away the water from the approach to the island so that the bottom appeared. Mengü Qa'an ordered the troops to ride in without delay. Bachman was seized before he was aware, and his army was destroyed within an hour, some being flung into the river and others killed outright. The Mongols bore off their wives and children as prisoners, and they likewise carried off much valuable booty. Then they returned. The water began to move and when the troops had crossed it was back again without one soldier's having suffered harm.

When Bachman was brought before Mengü Qa'an he begged to be put to death by the latter's own hand. Instead he ordered his younger brother Böchek to cut him in half.[6]

These indications provide a reason for the transfer of power and the key of empire to the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an such as requires no further demonstration.

[4] He was actually Möngke's half-brother. See above, i, 269, n. 3.

[5] An encircling movement as in the *battue*. See above, i, 28.

[6] This operation against Bachman was carried out in the winter of 1236–7. See Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 107. Pelliot, *ibid.*, 166, quotes the account in the *Yüan shih*. For Rashid-ad-Din's version see Minorsky, *Caucasica III*, 225.

[12] [III]

OF THE ACCESSION OF THE LORD OF THE SEVEN CLIMES, THE JUST EMPEROR, MENGÜ QA'AN, TO THE THRONE OF THE KHANATE, AND OF HIS SPREADING THE CARPET OF NUSHIRVANIAN JUSTICE, AND REVIVING THE PRACTICES OF SOVEREIGNTY, AND LAYING DOWN THE PRINCIPLES OF MONARCHY

WHEN God the Glorious and the Exalted wishes to make one of His servants a leader and to place the crown of kingship and the diadem of sovereignty upon his head, so that by his justice and equity the desolate world may bloom again and the lot of the denizens of the habitable quarter benefit from the flow of His bounteous compassion; in the first place, the nature of '*He created souls before bodies*' adorns that man's being with the embroidery of bliss and illumines his soul with the lights of sound judgement; and then, when he comes from the highest world to the lowest halting-place, God rears his nature in the cradle of wisdom and sagacity, and puts the breast of the nurse that is all gentleness and gravity to the mouth of his inner knowledge, and inspires him to righteous deeds and actions and straightforward speech, and curbs him in his comings and goings [13] with the bridle of understanding, so that gradually, day by day, he ascends the steps of greatness and, hour by hour, receives instruction from Fortune and Prosperity.

> When Fortune wishes to rear a rose, she produces it and then wishes for a man.
> First Prosperity stitches a *kulah,* then she places it on the head of a king.
> A diver raises pearls from the sea, in a short time they find a place of honour upon crowns.[1]

And so, when the time comes for the manifestation of wisdom and might, there appears in the rising-place of the sun of honour and glory the first signs of the dawn-break of Fortune, and as a preliminary thereto, because

things are made plain by their opposites,[2]

[1] From the *Khusrau u Shirin* of Nizami. [2] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

by inflexible Destiny the world is filled with the darkness of injustice and iniquity, and the sweetness of life and the pleasure of existence produce the bitterness of myrrh upon the palate of the soul, so that the servants of God, when that Fortune has passed from potentiality into actuality and from non-existence into existence, may know the value of that immense boon and give thanks for that mighty blessing.

Now the proof of this statement is that after the death of Qa'an the affairs of the world had been diverted from the path of rectitude and the reins of commerce and fair dealing turned aside from the highway of righteousness. The darkness of tyranny, i.e. '*darkness upon darkness*',[3] piled up, and the waves of the seas of events clashed together. The people were crushed and trodden underfoot by the mighty and from the frequency of oppression were left without money or [14] property; and the cup of the world was filled to the brim with the drink of iniquity. *Elchis* poured down upon the lands like drops of rain; taxgatherers *(muḥaṣṣilān)* sped like arrows from a bow to collect unlawful taxes;[4] and the people, dragged now this way, now that, were at their wits' end, for they had neither the endurance to stay nor did they know of a place to which they might flee.

> The cruelty of the revolving cupola has reached such a
> degree that a higher degree is unimaginable.

But when violence and injustice had reached their culmination and iniquity and wickedness developed to their extreme, the tradition: '*When it is most severe it will be relieved*' was verified and the verse: '*Verily along with trouble cometh ease*'[5] confirmed; and the gates of '*The mercy which God layeth open for man, no one can keep back*'[6] were flung open and the provisions of

When a situation is desperate it is nearest to relief

got ready.

[3] Koran, xxiv, 40.
[4] Or perhaps 'taxes not yet due'.
[5] Koran, xciv, 5 or 6.
[6] *Ibid.*, xxxv, 2.

Mirth has come after grief, just as in the autumn time the breeze from the train of the grace of early spring has come.
The cry of the lute, the sound of song and the plaint of the harp have risen from the feast to the green heavens of the world.
[15] The pattern that emerges from all this can be [only] that the grace of the Creator has come to aid us.

That is to say, the keys of the kingdom of '*For the earth is God's: to such of His servants as He pleaseth doth He give it as a heritage*'[7] were laid in the powerful hand of the Supreme Monarch, the Lord of all mankind, the Khan of all Khans, Arab and non-Arab, Mengü Qa'an (may he live till the end of the world!); and the surface of the face of the earth was again decked out and adorned because of his all-embracing justice, and the affairs of mankind in general and the concerns of the Moslems in particular took on a new freshness and brilliance. Of this the circumstances are made plain in the events which shall be described and the truth hereof expounded in the chapters that shall be written. '*And our trust is in the grace of our Lord. Verily, it is He to Whom we turn for aid!*'

Batu had set out from his *ordu* in the Bulghar and Saqsin country to proceed to the Court of Güyük Khan and had arrived in Ala-Qamaq,[8] which is a week's distance from the town of Qayaligh, when he heard the report of [16] Güyük Khan's death. He halted where he was and sent messenger after messenger to his kinsmen on every side to announce his arrival: he bade them present themselves [before him there]. Mengü Qa'an set out from the region of Qara-Qorum. As for Siremün and the other grandsons and wives of Qa'an who were in that region, they sent Qonqurtaqai[9] Noyan, the emir of Qara-Qorum, as their agent and gave a written undertaking to the following effect: 'Batu is *aqa*[10] to all the princes. Whatever he commands

[7] Koran, vii, 125.
[8] See above, i, 263, n. 3.
[9] Reading QNQWRTQAY for the QNQWRBQAY of the text. See Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 91*n*.
[10] I.e. 'elder brother', 'senior'.

his word is law. We consent thereto nor shall we refuse whatever he prescribes and sees fit.' As for the other princes, [viz.] the sons of Güyük Khan, being already in that neighbourhood, they came to Batu in advance [of the rest]. They remained a day or two and then, without seeking permission, turned back towards their own *ordu* on the pretext that the practitioners of the science of the *qam* had not sanctioned a longer stay. They left Temür Noyan as their agent with Batu with instructions that when the necklaces of the assembly were strung together, in any deliberation in which agreement was reached between *aqa* and *ini* [11] he too should give his consent.

The princes now presented themselves from every side. Of the sons of Qa'an there came Qadaghan Oghul and of the sons and grandsons of [17] Chaghatai, Qara-Hülegü and Mochi.[12] [There came also] Mengü Qa'an with his brothers Möge and Arigh Böke and of the emirs Uhatai [13] and Yesü-Buqa;[14] and from other directions came the emirs and *noyans* and the other princes and nephews of Batu. They held a great assembly and after feasting for some days deliberated together about the entrusting of the Khanate to a person who was fitted thereto and had experienced the good and ill, the weal and woe of action, and tasted the sweet and bitter of life, and led armies far and near, and won renown in banquets and victory in battles. For days and nights they weighed and pondered this matter, that is which prince there was of the sons and grandsons of the race and lineage *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan who by his sound judgement and

[11] I.e. *all*, lit. 'elder brother and younger brother'.

[12] Qara-Hülegü was a grandson (son of Metiken). Rashid-ad-Din mentions two Mochis—a son (Mochi-Yebe) and a grandson (son of Baiju). See Blochet, 156 and 177. Presumably the elder Mochi is meant here. He appears to be identical with the Mauci or Maucy of Carpini. It was Mauci, whose territory lay along the eastern banks of the Dnieper, who detained the members of Carpini's party sent back from Batu's camp with a message for the Pope. See Rockhill, 8, 11 and 31. His name means 'carpenter'. See Grousset, *L'Empire Mongol*, 483.

[13] AWHTAY. 'The man of the Uhaz.' On the Uhaz-Merkit or Uwas-Merkit see Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 275.

[14] YYSW BWQA. This name was borne by a son of Belgütei, Chingiz-Khan's half-brother. See Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII*, 48 and 49, n. 1.

penetrating counsel might control the lands and guard the roads; for if the affairs of the Empire were to remain neglected as they were the very basis of the commonweal would be overturned and the knots of administration loosened, so that the ordering thereof by the hand of wisdom and policy would be impossible and the mending [18] thereof by deliberation inconceivable.

> *And no lord shall be lost to us ever but we shall rear amongst us*
> *a lad to be our lord.*[15]

Finally after much thought and reflection all present in that assembly, whether princes or emirs and *noyans,* arrived at the decision that since Batu was the eldest of the princes and the leader amongst them he was best conversant with the good and ill in the affairs of the realm and dynasty *(daulat).* It was for him to decide whether he should become Khan himself or suggest another as Khan. All being agreed on this decision they gave written undertakings that they would in no way go back on their word or contravene Batu's command. And having thus concluded and wound up their discussion that day they began to drink and make merry.

The next day when the banner of the light of day was unfurled and the veil of darkness removed--

> A day such that [even] the world-illuminating lantern became
> bright of eye from [contemplating] it;
> Its dawn having risen out of Paradise, its wind experienced the breath
> of the Messiah--

the necklace of the princes' assembly was as on the previous day strung in the manner of the Pleiades. Batu took up the speeches of that day and none having anything to add thereto he continued as follows: 'The administration of so great a realm and the advancement of so delicate a matter [19] can be effected by such a person, and only such a person can extricate himself from the straits of entrance and egress, as has known and experienced the *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan and the customs of Qa'an,

[15] From verses by Bashāma b. Ḥazm an-Nahshalī, one of which has already been quoted above, I, 143 [i, 181]. (M.Q.)

and in the race-course of wisdom and the hippodrome of manliness has borne off the reed [16] of excellence from all his peers and equals, and has in person supervised important affairs and been in charge of weighty matters, and in the overcoming of difficulties and the crushing of rebels has provided unanswerable proofs. Now of the lineage *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan is Mengü Qa'an, who is famous for his shrewdness and bravery and celebrated for his sagacity and valour. The affairs of the Khanate should be ordered and regulated by the excellence of his world-adorning counsel and the welfare of land and people assured by the good fortune of his knot-loosening resolution and forethought.

> In this world there always appears the affair for every man
> and the man for every affair.

" *There are men for every action and everything is possible to such as are created for it.*" I shall place the reins of this affair in the hands of his proficiency and put the signet of the Empire upon the finger of his resolve and experience, for that unbroken horse, the world, will be tamed beneath the thighs of his severity and valour and the sword that protects the commonweal and guards the frontiers will be unsheathed from the scabbard of his resolve and intrepidity.'

Hearing these words with the ear of intelligence and understanding all present knew of a certainty that the profits and advantages hereof would accrue to all mankind and to themselves in particular and that whatever was beyond this would be redundant—' when thou dost pass beyond the straight it is crooked'. They exclaimed as one man: '" *Thou hast given the bow to him that shaped it and hast settled in the house* [20] *him that built it.*" [17] Beyond this stage there is no thoroughfare. " *There is no village beyond 'Abbadan.*[18] "' And each said truthfully in allegory:

[16] A reference to the Arab custom of planting a reed in the ground to serve as a kind of winning-post: it would be snatched up and flung in front of him by the leading horseman.

[17] From the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri. (M.Q.)

[18] 'Abbādān is the original Arabic spelling of Abadan, which in the Middle Ages was situated on the sea-coast. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 48–9.

> 'If I tear my heart away from thee and take my love from thee, upon whom shall I cast that love, whither shall I take that heart?'[19]

And every jewel comes to rest when it finds its proper setting.

However Mengü Qa'an would not consent and for days he continued to refuse and would not undertake this immense charge nor accept this mighty obligation. When this persistence had exceeded all bounds his brother Möge[20] Oghul, who was adorned with the jewel of wisdom and authority, rose to his feet and said: 'In this assembly we have all given written undertakings and in this meeting we have all promised to abide by Batu Qa'an's[21] commands, and suffer no change or alteration thereof, and desire no addition to his words. But since now Mengü Qa'an seeks to deviate from the advice of the *aqa* and his own statement, if hereafter *aqa* and *ini* should disagree on some matter, let it not give rise to censure or be the subject of reproach.'

He spoke in this fashion and with the diamond of his tongue pierced the pearl of this affair. It was a clear proof and a decisive demonstration, and Batu praised these words and applauded Möge. And Mengü Qa'an was convinced.[22]

And since the rare and wonderful works of God had made the sapling of kingship firm of root and lofty of branch beside the stream of '*And We made you kings*',[23] Batu, as is the custom of the Mongols, rose up and all the princes and *noyans* knelt down with him. He then seized a goblet and set the Khanate in its proper place. All the preachers and novices[24] approved his action.

[19] This line occurs in a *ghazal* of Kamal-ad-Din Isma'il († 1237) but must be a quotation from an earlier poem for it appears in the *Kalila u Dimna* of Nasrallah written nearly 100 years earlier. See M.Q.'s additional note at the end of his introduction to *III*, xxix–xxx.

[20] See above, p. 518, n. 10.

[21] It is very strange that Juvaini should here give Batu the title of *qa'an*, i.e. Great Khan. Some of the MSS. have Batu Qa'an Aqa and M.Q. suggests that the original text may have had simply Batu Aqa, i.e. Batu the Senior Prince.

[22] Reading *mulzam* with B.

[23] Apparently a misquotation of Koran, v, 23: '*He* [God] *made you kings*.'

[24] Apparently 'old and young', with perhaps a reference to Buddhist priests.

The leadership has come to thee submissively, trailing
its skirts towards thee.
It was fit only for him and he was fit only for it.
Had another than he desired it, the earth would have
quaked with quakes.[25]

Everyone who was present in that assembly acclaimed [Mengü Qa'an] as sovereign, and they arranged to hold the great *quriltai* in Onan-Kelüren [26] in the new year. And with this intention each returned to his own encampment.

Tidings hereof spread throughout the world and penetrated to the farthest corners of the earth. And Sorqotani Beki began to cultivate strangers with all kinds of attentions and favour and to win over kinsmen and relations with all means of courtesy and diplomacy.

As for those who spoke evasively [22] and postponed [a decision] on this matter, fabricating tales and inventing stories, on the pretext that the Khanate ought to remain in the family *(urugh)* of Qa'an or Güyük Khan, they forgot the subtlety of '*Thou givest power to whom thou wilt*' [27] and therefore dispatched messenger after messenger in all directions and also sent messages to Batu to say that they dissented from that agreement and did not acquiesce in that covenant.

Batu would reply: 'With the agreement of the *aqa* and *ini* we have settled this matter and the discussion is over—"*the matter is decreed concerning which ye inquire*".[28] It is impossible to abrogate it, and if we did not proceed in the matter in this fashion and if another than Mengü Qa'an were to be nominated, the order of affairs would be upset and the laws of the realm and the concerns of the people thrown into confusion to such an extent that it would be impossible to set matters to rights. And if you ponder this business well with the eye of reflection and farsightedness, it will be clear to you that the interests of Qa'an's

[25] Slightly adapted from a *qasida* by Abul-'Atahiya in praise of the Caliph al-Mahdi. (M.Q.)

[26] I.e. the territory between the Onon and the Kerulen. Cf. Rubruck: '. . . Onankerule which is as it were their original home, and in which is the *ordu* of Chingis chan.' (Rockhill, 165.)

[27] Koran, iii, 25.

[28] *Ibid.*, xii, 41.

sons and grandsons have been respected, for the administration of so great an empire, which stretches from the farthermost East to the uttermost West, is beyond the strength and knowledge of mere children.'

Amidst such exchanges the appointed year came to an end and the next year was half over, and still there was no sign of the conclusion of that matter. Meanwhile with each year that passed the affairs of the world became more desperate, and with every month the garment of the people's livelihood more ragged.

Batu sent his brothers Berke and Toqa-Temür as his representatives. [23] Qadaghan set out too, as did also Qara-Hülegü. And the other princes who were of one mind began to journey [thither]. From Ulugh-Ef, which is the *ordu* of Chingiz-Khan,[29] came other princes.

Meanwhile Mengü Qa'an and Sorqotani Beki sent to those who were not constant and sincere of heart and trod the pathway of consideration, friendliness and helpful advice—'*you must pet the camel before you can milk it*'. Since their exhortations and admonishments produced no effect upon them and [24] there was no sign of any change in their attitude, they dispatched messenger after messenger to them, now cajoling them, now making use of threats and menaces; and so they reinforced their argument hoping that they might be restrained by kindness and conciliation and aroused from the slumber of pride and negligence. But far-sighted Wisdom would say:

> *O thou who rebukest lovers, let be a band that God has led astray as He will lead them aright.*
> *Reproach produces no effect upon endeavours whereof the nearest to thee are the farthest from thee.*[30]

> The unlucky man never does anything at the bidding of the wise man; never by any device can the unlucky man become lucky.

[29] Ulugh-Ef (see above, p. 504, n. 10) was the *ordu*, not of Chingiz-Khan, but of his son Chaghatai. However the name means simply 'Great House' and may have been applied to some other *ordu* also. In any case Chaghatai's *ordu* cannot be meant here since his successor Qara-Hülegü has already been mentioned, presumably coming from elsewhere.

[30] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

When that year drew to an end and there reached r
hearts the gladness of the following spring, the Lord o
Planets began to proceed gradually from the places of his
and detriment to his apogee in mansions of honour and :
and to direct his course towards the house of his exaltation.
the victorious Khusrau Parviz [31] he set his world-illumin
face towards the residence of power. And when he placec
burden of royalty upon the litter of Aries, the fertile winds b
to blow and move in a gentle manner like the Northern zep
which blowing from the bedchamber of the rose stirs the
of the sweet herbs. And the straitened [32] ponds that
been shackled by the cold of Dai [33] [25] and like Bahm
imprisoned in the bonds of snow and ice (*bahman*), by the ef
of the gentle breeze now became open-hearted and loose of

> Through the effort of the breeze there appeared on the
> surface of the water a thousand ripples (*chin*), and
> upon every ripple a thousand Chinese (*Chīn*) musk-bags.

And the soil of the earth waxed joyous and merry from
heat of the fiery exhalations. The natural powers [of li
organisms] came into action with their growth and developm
and birds burst into song in the meadows.

> Now we must drink sweet-tasting wine, for the scent of
> musk arises from the stream.
> Every garden is covered with the petals of flowers; every
> mountain is full of tulips and hyacinths.[35]

The lustre of verdure and freshness came to the face of the wo
The branches [of the trees] stretched their necks and thrust
green heads. The gardens, like sprightly, well-shaped lad
grew daily (*rūz-afzūn āmadand*) nearer to their heart's de
The fruit blossom and the water-lily were splendid and glori
in a hundred thousand ways. The judas-tree stole the col
of the cheek. The camomile borrowed the sparkle and p

[31] The last of the great Sassanians, Chosroes II (590–628), the antag
of Heraclius.

[32] *dast-tang*, i.e. frozen.

[33] December–January.

[34] January–February.

[35] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1630, ll. 2372 and 2376.

of the loved one's teeth. The violet was sweet-scented from the locks of its *ghaliya*[36] hair and turned inwards *(tūi bar tūi)* like the faces of lovers. The flowers still in bud were like coquettish sweethearts or pleasures without pain. The jessamine drew all eyes upon it in the meadow, and the jonquil *(nasrīn)* adorned the earth like the two Eagles *(nasrain)*[37] in the heavens. The narcissus, like quiver-bearing Turks, illumined the garden with head held high. And the mouth of the tulip, like the mouth of a cup, was merry with rose-coloured wine. [26] From the scattering of flowers upon them thou wouldst have thought the channels of water to be Indian swords of enchased steel. The melodious nightingale, like the ten-tongued lily, sang a thousand songs in praise of garden and meadow, and the minstrels accompanied the tune of the lark. And the following bilingual *(mulamma')* *qit'a* of the *sahib-divan* of the Lands[38] *(may God lengthen his life!)* which, in the flower of his youth, he had composed and put together like puffs of the Eastern zephyr, became the morning and evening refrain of the treble and bass of harp and organ *(arghanūn)*:

> *The turtle-doves have lamented upon the tree, and the garden has spread perfume like Comorin aloes.*
> The air has become scented; since thou hast musk it is fitting that thou shouldst keep vigil all night alone [with her].
> *Pass round the cup. O friend, let us be merry like the wild stock* (khuzāma) *and the spica* (bahār).
> The lips of the bud have opened in a smile because of the spring cloud.
> *The gardens have smiled because of the camomile, just as the twinkling stars have appeared on the horizon.*
> Since the preparations have been made for merrymaking thou wilt consent to unite with me this one night.

Like the days of union with the damsel with the mole, the state of the weather was as temperate as could be wished and the sickness of the year was changed to health. The world was a rose-garden and the season resplendent.

[36] See above, i, 170, n. 5. [37] The constellations Aquila and Lyra.
[38] I.e. Juvaini's father. See above, p. 488.

This spring and these lights of it—excellent are its nights and excellent its days.[39]

Most of the princes now assembled on the Kelüren. They sent Shilemün [40] Bitikchi [27] to Oghul-Ghaimish and her sons Khoja and Naqu and 'Alam-Dar [41] Bitikchi to Yesü-Mengü with the following message: 'Most of the family of Chingiz-Khan have gathered together and the business of the *quriltai* has been delayed until now because of you. There is no more time for excuses and procrastination. If you have a mind to concord and unity you should present yourselves as soon as possible at the *quriltai* in order that the affairs of the realm may be dealt with in unanimity and the foul veil of estrangement *(vaḥshat)* and duplicity removed from the countenance of harmony.'

Previously Siremün also had sent messengers to Khoja and Naqu, for a feeling of friendship and amity had sprung up between them since

in times of stress ill feelings disappear.[42]

When they realized that no good would come of deferment Naqu Oghul set out. Qadaq Noyan and some of the emirs of the Court of Güyük Khan likewise set out. And [28] Yesün-Toqa [43] Oghul, the brother of Qara-Hülegü, [setting out] from his place of abode came with them to join Siremün, so that all these were assembled in one spot; and it was rumoured that they were hatching some plot against the Moslems.

Thereafter Khoja also gradually began to move, saying now 'to-day,' now 'to-morrow' and causing time to pass with 'perhaps' and 'peradventure.' And they all still imagined that the business of the *quriltai* could not progress or be successful without their presence and that the question [of the accession]

[39] From the verses of Abul-Ghanā'im al-Mausili quoted by Tha'alibi in the *Tatimmat-al-Yatima*. (M.Q.) See Eghbal's ed., I, 47.

[40] Shilemün, like Siremün, appears to be a Turco-Mongolian form of Solomon. See above, i, 251, n. 14.

[41] A Mongol with the Persian name of 'Alam-Dār ('Standard-Bearer') appears in Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 383 *et seq*.

[42] The second half of a *bait* by 'Uwaif al-Qawāfī, a poet of the *Hamasa* (M.Q.)

[43] See above, i, 249, n. 4.

could not be settled. Siremün and Naqu being the nearest, the princes, emirs and *noyans* in attendance on Mengü Qa'an sent a joint message to them to this effect: 'If you intend to be listless and laggardly in proceeding to the assembly, we [by ourselves] shall raise Mengü Qa'an to the Khanate.' Realizing that delay and deferment would not conduce to the attainment of their aims and desires they gave their promise to reach the assembly at such-and-such a time. And they set out with the speed of the fixed stars, travelling slowly with horses, horsemen and troops, [29] with heavily loaded camels and countless wagons.

How slow is the camels' gait whether they carry stone or iron,
Or men sitting crouched! [44]

When the appointed time had passed and they still showed no haste to appear and their delay and deferment had exceeded all bounds a group of wise men and astrologers who were present at that assembly selected the 9th of Rabi' II of the year 649 [1st of July, 1251] because of a horoscope such that the fortunate planets might glean after its fortune, and Jupiter seek to purchase its effects, and Venus light herself with its lights. And one of the indications of daily-increasing fortune was that in those few days the clouds had piled up, and the rains poured down, and the face of the sun was enclosed behind a veil of vapour and a screen of mist; and at the selected hour the astrologers were writing but the dark clouds kept off the radiation and they were unable to take the altitude. Suddenly the fair countenance of the sun, like a bride displayed to the bridegroom after being guarded, and kept from him, and denied to him, cast aside its veil at the chosen hour, and the sky was uncovered enough to reveal the globe of the sun and was cleared of the turbidity of the fog; and [30] the astrologers began to take the altitude. The world was adorned with light and brightness, and the face of the earth emptied of shadow and darkness. The rising

[44] Attributed to az-Zabbā, Queen of Mesopotamia, in a story related in the *Kitab-al-Aghani.* (M.Q.) On az-Zabbā see Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 35–7.

of the house of the Greater Benefic [45] was ascertained from the movement of the heavens and the strength of the angle of the Ascendant determined: the maleficent planets and the Dark Degrees [46] were cadent from the fortunate Ascendant, the Greater Luminary [47] was erect in its apogee in the Tenth House and the Anaretae *(qavāṭi')*[48] resident in the Twelfth.

All those present—the princes such as Berke Oghul and his brother Toqa-Temür, their uncle [49] Elchitei the elder, the sons of Otegin, Köten and Kölgen, and the emirs, *noyans* and great officials of the *ordu* of Chingiz-Khan as well as such other leaders as were in that neighbourhood, together with troops beyond number or computation—[of all these] the princes took off their hats inside the *ordu,* slung their belts over their shoulders and raising up Mengü set him upon the throne of sovereignty and kingship. They named him Mengü Qa'an, and from the ringing of the heavens there came this cry as augury to the ear of the innermost soul:

[31] 'O king, remain a thousand years in thy kingdom, and then
for a thousand years take pride in thy glory,
Every year a thousand months, every month a hundred days,
every day a thousand hours and every hour a thousand years.'

As for the emirs and troops they drew up outside the *ordu*—more than a thousand men of action, famous warriors, who in truth were lions of battle at the moment of revenge or when in desperate straits—

A band of men like gloomy Night and broadswords which shone
like the dawn of a dark night—

and, at the same time as the princes inside the *ordu,* knelt three times.[50]

And when the World-Emperor had auspiciously seated him-

[45] I.e. Jupiter.

[46] On the Dark Degrees see Biruni, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of Astrology,* 270. It may be however that the Dark Signs—Leo, Scorpio and Sagittarius—are meant here. (*Ibid.,* 214.)

[47] I.e. the Sun.

[48] See above, p. 362, n. 1.

[49] Rather their cousin, for he was the son of Chingiz-Khan's brother Qachi'un.

[50] Or 'nine times' as in several MSS. So also above, i, 252.

self upon the couch of the Empire, like the sun in the zenith of power, his magnanimity so required it that some ease and comfort should at once be enjoyed by every kind of living creature and every variety of inorganic matter. He therefore made a *yasa* that on that lucky day no man should tread the path of strife and contention; people should not engage in acts of hostility and enmity towards one another but should enjoy themselves and make merry. And since the human species was receiving its due of life in all manner of enjoyment and self-indulgence, so too all the other animals should not go without their share, and therefore those domesticated animals used for riding or as beasts of burden should not be subjected to the discomfort of loads, chains, hobbles, shackles and straps [32], while as for those which are slaughtered for their flesh [51] in accordance with the just Shari'at, their blood should remain unshed in the asylum of security, so that for one day, like the doves in a sanctuary, they might pass their time in ease and tranquillity. And as for the wild creatures that fly or graze, on land and in the water, they should have a respite from the attack of attackers; [52] and beat their wings to their heart's content in the gardens of safety.

The air is clear for thee, so lay thy eggs, and whistle,
and peck as long as thou wishest to peck.
The hunter has departed from thee, so rejoice.[53]

And since all living creatures had had their full benefit from his daily-increasing fortune, the inorganic bodies also, which are likewise the work of the Creator *(glorious is His name!)*--and every one of the atoms of His creation has in it its own particular secret meaning: '*O our Lord! thou hast not created this in vain*' [54] --should not be deprived of that mercy since '*there is nought which doth not celebrate His praise.*' [55] Therefore the brain of the earth should not be given a headache through the pain caused by tent-pegs and digging; and the soul of the water should not be polluted by the discharge of impurities. Praise God for a

[51] *gūshti.* See above, p. 450, n. 4.
[52] Reading *qāṣidān* with E.
[53] Tarafa b. al-'Abd at-Taghlabi. (M.Q.)
[54] Koran, iii, 188.
[55] *Ibid.*, xvii, 46.

being whom the Almighty makes the source of [33] compassion and the meeting-place of equity to such an extent that He causes his acts of charity to be dispensed upon whatever bears a name, even brute animals and lifeless stones! Now if a man of insight considers these subtleties deductively, and draws the conclusion therefrom, and ponders and reflects upon the inner meaning of these circumstances, whereof with the passing of months and years the picture will remain engraved upon the face of Life, so will be ascertained and determined the extent and degree of the benevolent attention of his august mind to improving the lot of the weak and poor and his extreme concern for spreading his all-embracing justice and mercy among great and small. May God *(great is His glory!)* grant him the enjoyment and pleasure of empire and sovereignty for endless years to come!

In this manner they passed that day until nightfall and when night came each departed to his quarters. On the next day when the black-garbed army of Night turned their backs in flight before the vanguard of Daybreak and the Khusrau of the planets rose, victorious and triumphant, above the horizon, the princes began to rejoice, and make merry, and spread the carpet of gaiety, making, as it were, the following words their refrain:

> The locks of Night are thrown back from the cheek of Day:
> it is time for the drunk to make merry again.
> The cupbearers are busy bringing in the rose-coloured wine, the
> aroma of which is taken from the pleasant breath of the censer.[56]

And that day the feasting took place in the tent which the Supreme Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-aʿẓam)* Yalavach *(God strengthen the foundations of* [34] *his power!)* had constructed of cloths of splendid texture resembling the green cupola and a model of the highest vault, whereof the designs *(ashkāl)* from the abundance of the embroidery and the beauty of the colouring appeared as a sky with the lights of the stars shining as lanterns, or as a garden wherein flowers and blossom were scattered like pearls. The floor of the tent, covered with carpets of all kinds in all varieties

[56] From a *qasida* by Sayyid Hasan b. Nāsir Ghaznavi, from which three other *baits* have been quoted below, III, 36 [ii, 572.] (M.Q.)

of colour, seemed to be a meadow full of every sort of fragrant herb, such as violets, Judas-flowers and jonquils. None had ere this erected a tent in that shape and style or fashioned a pavilion in so ingenious a form. The interior was like the Garden of Iram and the exterior fair and pleasant. When the revelling was resumed and their joviality had passed all bounds, this song arose from every side:

> Ha! O picture of Mansuriya,[57] thou art a garden and a palace,
> or a paradise which God has sent into the world.
> Nay, I will not call thee of the world, [thou art] not
> of the world, because the world decreases life and thou,
> unlike the world, dost increase life.[58]

And the Emperor of the Clime, like the Khusrau who walks alone [59] in the house of his exaltation, was now firmly seated on the throne of fortune and the couch of sovereignty, leaning on the cushion of power, standing upon the ladder of splendour and majesty, his feet planted on the centre of happiness and success and mounted on [35] the steed of might and eminence. And the princes, like the Pleiades, were gathered on his right; and his seven brothers, each of whom was a full moon in the heaven of kingship, Qubilai, Hülegü, Arigh Böke, Möge, Böchek, * Sögetü [60] and Sübetei, stood there like the Seven Thrones.[61] And on his left the princesses like [36] gardens, each of them in fairness and beauty far superior [62] to the sun and the moon, were seated '*on inwrought couches reclining on them face to face*'.[63] And houri-like, sweet-faced cupbearers, on whose countenances was written the *sura* of Beauty, from ewers and jugs poured out cup after cup of *qumiz* and wine, and the field of all hearts was cleared of the thorns of grief and fear.

[57] In Tus. See below, p. 616. [58] Anvari. (M.Q.) [59] I.e. the Sun.

[60] Reading SKTW for the SKTR of O. (The text has SYKR.) On the spelling of the name in the Chinese sources (Sögedü) and Rashid-ad-Din see Hambis, *op. cit.*, 88 and 89, nn. 8 and 9. The forms in Rashid-ad-Din and the *Mu'izz-al-Ansāb* are perhaps corruptions of an original SWKTY or SWKTAY, i.e. Sögetei. According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 202 and 211) this prince was the ninth son of Tolui.

[61] I.e. the constellation of the Great Bear.

[62] This appears to be the meaning of the Persian (*du rukh dāda*).

[63] Koran, lvi, 15–16.

What shall I say of such cupbearers and how, O Lord, who take the rose-coloured moon out of the amber-scented snare?
Mars becomes a drop of blood from their dagger on the day of victory when they blithely seize the hilt of the dagger.
Venus dances in their cup like a bubble at revelling time when with their hands they seize the edge of the cup.[64]

And contrary Fate, having set a foot in the right direction, must needs strike up a tune. And the Venus of prosperity chose a poem to suit her mood and having with the tongue of fortune put speech into the mouth of the world thus began her overture:

Glad tidings! Fortune hath kept her promise, and Destiny is repentant of her cruelty and oppression.

And in time with the following *ghazal*, which was in keeping with the occasion, the circling heavens, looking on with the eye of contentment and approval, began to dance:

[37] O Khusrau, may the kingdom be pleasant to thee! May the whole world be subject to thee!
By thee were the flourishing lands of tyranny laid waste; by thee may the foundation of justice be firmly laid!

And they gave voice to the following melody which was appropriate to the times now that they were safe from being struck with the plectrum of Destiny's harp:

Thy grandsire [65] washed tyranny off the page of the world.
Thy uncle's [66] generosity repaired what was broken.
O thou whom the cloak of the Khanate exactly fits,
Do good, for 'tis thy turn to reign.[67]

And the *noyans* and emirs, together with their chief and leader Mengeser Noyan [68] were stationed rank behind rank in the place of the sword-bearers, whilst the *bitikchis*, viziers and chamberlains, of whom the principal and leader was Bulghai [69] Aqa, took

[64] See above, p. 570, n. 56. [65] I.e. Chingiz-Khan. [66] I.e. Ögedei's.

[67] For the original lines by Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat from which these verses are adapted see II, 16. (M.Q.)

[68] On Mengeser, the 'great *yarghuchi*' or Grand Judge, see below, p. 578 *et seq.* He belonged to the Jalayir tribe. For a full account of his history see Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes*, 368–9.

[69] BLΓAY. This is Rubruck's Bulgai, 'magnus scriptor qui erat christianus nestorinus'. (Wyngaert, 245 and n. 2.)

their stand in their proper station and the remainder of the emirs and retinue were seated outside the pavilion in more than a hundred ranks *(rasta)* with their weapons fastened.

> *A people who, if you meet them, are angels in beauty and,*
> *if you fight them, are devils.*[70]

> The Turks are wise and clever angels;
> They are jet-tressed houris and iron-clad *divs.*
> They are *divs* when in time of battle they wear iron;
> They are houris when in banquets they drink wine.

In this style and manner with every kind of joy and pleasure they feasted and revelled for a whole week with care and malice banished far from the courtyard of their breasts. And every day in accordance with the dress of the World-Emperor they would don garments of a different colour[71] [38] and quaff cups and goblets. And the daily ration of drink and food was 2,000 waggon-loads of *qumiz* and wine, 300 horses or oxen and 3,000 sheep. And since Berke was present there was performed upon these the commandment: '*Eat of that over which the name of God hath been pronounced.*'[72]

During all this feasting there arrived Qadaghan Oghul, his nephew[73] Melik Oghul, and Qara-Hülegü. They performed the ceremonies of congratulation and observed the etiquette of obeisance, and in return Mengü Qa'an held it his duty to exceed himself in showing them every manner of honour, courtesy and kindness. With their arrival the assembly still awaited the other princes who were to follow them; and they continued to be excessive in their joy and revelry and defective in caution and alertness. And since none of them [39] dreamt that the *yasa* of the World-Emperor Chingiz-Khan could be changed or altered, and there had been no disagreement amongst them, nor was such a thing in accordance with the customs of the Mongols,

[70] From a *qasida* by al-Ghazzi in praise of the Turks. See I, 63 [i, 81–2]. (M.Q.)

[71] See above, 1, 186 and n. 25.

[72] Koran, vi, 118. I.e. they were slaughtered in accordance with the Mohammedan ritual for Berke's benefit, Berke being a convert to Islam.

[73] *Brother*, rather, for both Qadaghan (Qadan) and Melik (Mengli) were sons of Ögedei.

it never crossed their minds nor was it painted in the pict gallery of their imagination [that any such occurrence possible]; and they therefore neglected to take any precauti

Suddenly, by a happy chance, nay as an indication of for and the continued favour of the Most Glorious, a falcon called Keshik[75] lost a camel which was comparable with she-camel of the Prophet Salih[76] *(upon whom be peace!)*, b the cause of the salvation of the true believers and the reason the destruction of the unrighteous.[77] The falconer spared effort in his search for the animal. He rode from left to righ that region and traversed a distance of two or three days' jourr All of a sudden he stumbled into the middle of Siremün's Naqu's forces. He beheld a great host of men, heavily loa waggons and food and drink by the *kharvar*—all this allege

[74] *jānvar-dār.* According to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 288) he was on Möngke Qa'an's falconers (*qushchï*). He belonged to the Qanqlï 'bone' (*il* i.e. apparently not to the tribe of the Qanqlï Turks but to a Mongol clan bea the same name. On the type of clan known as a 'bone' or *yasun* see Vl mirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 56–7.

[75] KŠK with the variants KSK, KSL and KŠL. I take this name tc identical with the Mongol word *keshik* (*kesbig*) 'guard'. On the other h it may, conceivably, like the KLK of I, 27 (on which see above, i, 37, n. be a corruption of the name Kishlik = Qïshlïq. Cf. Pelliot, *Les Mongol la Papauté* [201]: '. . . ce récit rappelle d'assez près, *jusque dans le nom du pe qui révéla le complot*, un épisode de l'histoire de Gengis-khan.'

[76] On Ṣāliḥ see above, i, 17, n. 40. The story here referred to will be fo in Koran, vii, 71–7: '*And to Themoud* we sent *their brother Saleh. He said, my people! worship God: ye have no other God than Him: now hath a clear p* of my mission *come to you from your Lord, this she-camel of God being a sign to y therefore let her go at large to pasture on God's earth: and touch her not to harm lest a grievous chastisement* seize you. . . .' However the chief men of Tham rejected the preaching of Salih. '*And they ham-strung the she-camel, and rebe against their Lord's command, and said: "O Saleh, let thy menaces be accompli upon us if thou art one of the Sent Ones." Then the earthquake surprised them; in the morning they were found* dead *on their faces in their dwellings.*'

[77] It is interesting to compare the account given by Rubruck: 'Keu [Güy had a brother called Siremon, who on the advice of the wife of Keu and vassals, went in great state toward Mangu as if to do him homage. In tr however, he intended to kill him, and to exterminate all his *ordu*. And wl he had already got to within a day or two of Mangu, he had to leave on the r one of his carts which broke down; and while the carter was fixing it, tl came along one of Mangu's men who helped him; and he asked so much ab the journey that the carter revealed to him what Siremon proposed doing. Tl

for the purpose of offering congratulations and making [40] obeisance. However, Keshik failed to perceive the purpose thereof and continued to ask everybody about his loss. Suddenly, in the midst of all his searching, he came upon a broken waggon with a young lad seated beside it. The lad, thinking this horseman was one of their companions, asked Keshik to help mend the waggon. Keshik got down from the horse and began to assist in the repairing. His glance fell upon the weapons and warlike equipment arranged in bundles. 'What are all these arms?' he asked. 'The same as in the other waggons,' the lad replied. Clever Keshik at once affected indifference, but when he had finished the job joined another person and somehow struck up an acquaintance with him. Bit by bit he discovered how matters lay and when he had deduced the nature of their secret all doubt was removed, for '*the clear appears from the scum*'. He realized that those people were meditating treason and duplicity, and treachery and discord, intending in the midst of the feast that would be given to welcome them, when the hobbling rope of their minds had snapped and old and young were manacled with drunkenness, to step outside the sanctuary of decency and all of a sudden [41] to put their plot into execution. '*But the plotting of evil shall only enmesh those who make use of it.*'[78] Keshik let go the reins of free will and reciting the proverb: '*Thy rope on thy withers!*' over his camel he travelled a three days' journey in one and reached the *ordu* close on the time of evening prayer. He entered without leave and without fear or hesitation or embarrassment and with a stout heart spoke boldly

the other, leaving him as if he did not care about it, went to a herd of horses and taking the strongest horse he could pick in it, rode day and night in great haste till he came to Mangu's *ordu*, and told him what he had heard. Then Mangu promptly called all his men, and caused to be made three circles of men-at-arms around his *ordu*, so that no one could come in. The rest he sent against this Siremon, and they captured him, for he did not suspect that his designs had become known, and led him with all his men to the *ordu*. When Mangu charged him with the crime he at once confessed. Then he was put to death, he and the elder son of Ken chan, and with them three hundred of the greatest men among the Tartars. And they sent also for their ladies, that they might be whipped with burning brands to make them confess.' (Rockhill, 163–4.)

[78] Koran, xxv, 41.

as follows: 'You have spread the carpet of merrymaking and in pleasure and gaiety have bid farewell to the sorrows of the world, whilst in their ambushes your enemies have sharpened the teeth of their lances, biding their time, preparing and girding themselves for action.

And if thou dost not enter its door speedily, thy enemy will come upon thee through its door.' [79]

The gist of all this he declared to them by word of mouth, urging them to set to and look to their interest and bidding them make haste. But since the like ideas had never been entertained in the customs and practices of the Mongols, especially in the age of the seed *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan, they were quite unable to believe that such a state of affairs existed and they made him repeat himself over and over again. And each time he recounted what he had expressed in the first place speaking of the nature of their [80] character.

His words took no root in the Khan's ear and he paid no attention to them. Keshik continued his urgent pleading, and his distress and anxiety [42] were plain to see, but the Khan remained unshaken in his calm. The princes and chief *noyans* cried out against this firmness. 'Heaven forbid,' they said, 'that it lead to some misfortune and be the occasion of regret and repentance.

Beware of the matter whereto the entrance is broad and wherefrom the egress is narrow. [81]

Before the hand of retribution is laid upon the neck of desire, and the road [82] of policy is blocked, and the way of expedience obscured, and the case has become as subtle as a hair, and the bright eye of wisdom dazzled, and the following of a petty foe triumphant, it is incumbent upon a man of intelligence to neglect no measure of prudence or precaution and not to despise his enemy however feeble his condition. If then his surmise be

[79] From a *qasida* of Ibn-al-Mu'tazz. (M.Q.)

[80] I.e. Siremün's and Naqu's.

[81] Quoted in the *Hamasa*, where the author's name is not given. See Tabrizi, *Sharḥ-al-Ḥamāsa*, III, 89. (M.Q.)

[82] Reading *rāh* with O.

true he will be secure from the annoyance and vexation thereof, and if it be without foundation no harm or mischief can be imagined and no one will suffer thereby.

> *And despise not the determination of the humble man, for*
> *the tree-trunk is set on fire with chips of wood.*

To act with shrewdness and sagacity it is necessary to enter upon this affair with gentle and conciliatory means so that perchance the fire of this disaffection may be quenched before it flares up, and the side wind of adversity die down before it can blow away the soil of peace and security from the surface of the earth, and the water of shame, which [43] is the life of all creation, remain in the eyes of Destiny and on the face of their affair.

> Roughness and violence are of no avail; only gentleness
> will bring the snake out of the hole.

If nothing can be achieved by such methods and these people cannot be reduced to submission by fair words and courteous actions, we can then put into practice [the proverb which says:] "*The final remedy is cautery*" and bend low the back of their resistance.

> There is girded before thee an army sharp-pointed like
> the lance and the spear-head in time of service and
> at the moment of revenge;
> Like Khusrau with his cup each of them in wisdom; like
> Rustam mounted on Rakhsh is each of them on the saddle.'

Their plans and counsels being thus decided each of the princes wished to set foot in this road and go in person to investigate and inquire into these circumstances and achieve that object by persuasion or force as the occasion might demand. However, by the inspiration of good fortune—

> Counsel came as the key to victory: it is plain that iron
> counsel is the golden key.
> One piece of good counsel is better than a hundred swordsmen;
> a king's crown is better than a hundred moulds.
> With counsel an army's back may be broken; with a sword [only]
> one to a hundred men can be slain—[83]

[83] From the *Khusrau u Shirin* of Nizami. (M.Q.)

[44] the princes were spared the endurance of that toil and it was agreed that Mengeser, who was the leader of the emirs of Court and the most senior of the Pillars of the State, should go and investigate the matter, and take action to forestall the plot; and in so doing should say whatever he thought expedient. Following his instructions he mounted horse with some two or three thousand horsemen, Turkish warriors and unclean Turks, who were in truth

Jinns upon jinns and if they are human, it is as though they had been stitched on with needles.[84]

At the break of day, when the vanguard of the Jamshid of the heavens had launched a surprise attack upon the host of Night, the great *noyan* Mengeser approached the tents of those forces. With more than a hundred horsemen he rode up to the thresholds of the tents, [45] troops having meanwhile come up from before and behind, and right and left, and taken their stand like the circumference of a circle. Mounted as he was the *noyan* called out and spoke as follows: 'A tale has been told concerning you and it has reached the Khan's ear. If those words dripped from the vessel of mendacity and deceit and are false, then the mark of truth and the sign of sincerity will be for you unhesitatingly and with complete confidence to come and do obeisance, and not have recourse to hollow excuses, but with the water of speed and alacrity wash the dust of this lassitude from the cheeks of fidelity and the countenance of unity.'

Hearing these sensible words they came out of their tents, and as far as their sight could reach they could see nothing but troops without number or limit with themselves like the centre of the circle, whilst their friends and following, their horse and foot (*khail u rajil*), were far away in their hiding places. The reins of self-mastery slipped from the hands of their power and thought and the shackles of confusion, fear and perplexity tightened

[84] Quoted by Ibn-al-Athir as a *bait* from an *urjūza* by Abu-Nuwas in praise of polo. (M.Q.) The reference is of course to Turks on horseback. Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the Huns: 'They are almost glued to their horses.' (The whole passage is quoted in Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 128.)

ınd the feet of their cogitation and resolve. They became ːdingly depressed and bewildered; and the tongue of excuse ng turned mute and the leg of advance and withdrawal lame, saw no hope of departing and no prospect of remaining nd. There was no support on which to lean their backs; had not the arm of such strength as would enable them to ; nor had they the liver [46] and gall to rebel. No shore visible from the midst [of that sea] so that they might recite proverb;] '*He that escapes with his life has gained,*' and make way out, and avoid the consequences of their action. In ːnd they put their necks through the collar of Destiny and 't their feet down the smoke-vent [85] of Discretion.

And the yearling camel colt, when it is fastened to a rope,
cannot attack six-year old camels that have cut their teeth.[86]

nder duress, not by choice they departed together with *ıoyan*, accompanied by only a few horsemen, to wait upon Emperor of the Face of the Earth. As they drew near to the the greater part of their companions were detained and their taken from them. And it was commanded that some of vicked and sinful emirs, without quiver or bow-case, should :her with the princes make *tikishmishi* [87] where they were, at a time, and then enter the *ordu*.

ɔr two days they were not questioned at all and the letter of nination and investigation remained sealed. On the third when the sun auspiciously rose from the East, the day of ebels' fortune reached the West of frustration, and the spring e hypocrites' life approached its autumn. Another assembly held and [47] all gathered together. Mengü Qa'an spoke ɔllows: 'This is what has been related concerning you. It

A curious expression apparently intended to convey the idea of moderation. ɔelow, p. 599, n. 161.
From a *qasida* by Jarir. (M.Q.)
The meaning of this word is 'making obeisance'—either by the offering sents or by standing to attention. It appears to be used in the former sense , p. 515, and below, p. 724. Cf. also Rashid-ad-Din ed. Berezin, VII, where it is related how Jebe brought back from the campaign against Küch- thousand chestnut horses with white muzzles which he presented to the (*tikishmishī karda*).

is incredible and inconceivable and cannot be heard by the ear of intelligence nor accepted by the soul of wisdom. Nevertheless since the like imaginings, once they have become implanted in men's brains are no matter for jest, and rumours of such speeches, once they come to people's lips, are no longer merely figurative, therefore the goodness of [our] nature and the purity of [our] faith require and demand that this matter be examined and investigated in order that the countenance of certainty may be cleansed of the dust of doubt and the veil of uncertainty removed from the face of the sun of truth and right, so that if this be nought but calumniation and slander the liar and slanderer may behold his punishment upon the pages of events and mankind receive a lesson and a warning.'

It was commanded therefore that none should enter or leave the *ordu,* and he gave orders for the detention of a number of emirs and *noyans* such as Elchitei Noyan, Taunal, * Qata-Kürin, Jangi, * Qan-Khitai, Sorghan, Taunal the Younger, Toghan and Yasa'ur,[88] each of whom regarded himself [48] as

[88] Nearly all these names occur in the corresponding passage in the *Yüan shih*—3 (*ts'e* 2), 3a9–3b1. The following is a translation of that passage kindly supplied me by Professor Cleaves in a letter dated 4th February, 1955: 'Yeh-sun T'o (Yesün Tö), An-chih-tai (Aljidai), Ch'ang-chi (Čanggi), Chao/Chua-nan (? Junal/? Jonal), Ho-ta Ch'ü-lin (Qada Kürin), A-li-ch'u (? Alču) as well as Kang Ch'i-tan (? Yang Kidan), A-san (Asan), Hu-tu-lu (Quduluγ) and others bent on duplicity (lit., "devoted themselves to holding two ends/sides") were charged with having enticed the princes [of the blood] into sedition (lit., "to make disorder") and were all [3b] executed.' Aljidai (Alchidai) corresponds to the Elchitei (AYLČTAY) of Juvaini. On the tendency to confuse the names Alchidai, Elchidei and Eljigidei see Hambis, *op. cit.*, 29–30, n. 1. Elchitei, if he is identical with the Elchidei of Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 95–6), belonged to the Jalayir tribe. The following name (Changgi) corresponds exactly to the ČNKY of M.Q.'s text. This is however based on Blochet's reading in the corresponding passage in his edition of Rashid-ad-Din (293). I have restored the ǰNKY of E and G. On the name Janggi, which occurs in the *Secret History* (§ 277), see Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 278. Jaunal is clearly preferable to Jonal as the spelling of the next name in view of Juvaini's TAWNAL (III, 50) alongside the TWNAL of the present passage. The form Qada-Kürin represented by the Chinese transcription Ho-ta Ch'ü-lin indicates QATAKRYN (Qata-Kürin) as an obvious emendation of the TATAKRYN in the printed text of Juvaini. (Blochet, *loc. cit.*, actually has QATAKRYN, but the reading seems to be based, not on his MSS., but on this same passage from the *Yüan shih*, which he quotes in a footnote.) The

of such rank and station that the highest heaven had no power over him and the pearls of his necklace, which had been strung together by the revolution of days and nights, could not be scattered. Perhaps they did not know [the verses]:

> *To what cypress has He not given loftiness which He has not bowed again with affliction.*
> *Not every lump of sugar can be swallowed; now one must drink the clear [liquid] and now the dregs.*

Some other commanders of *tümens* from amongst the rebel leaders [were likewise detained] whom it would take too long to name individually; and the investigation and examination began.

With Mengeser Noyan as the chief *yarghuchi* certain of the other emirs and chief men inquired for several days into the subtleties and obscurities of the case proceeding with circumspection. The prisoners contradicting one another, no doubt remained as to their guilt. In their shame and contrition they exclaimed in dumb show: '*Oh! would I were dust!*'[89] They confessed also and acknowledged and admitted their crime. Mengü Qa'an, following his laudable custom, wished to turn a blind eye to what had passed, for '*to forgive when one has power is one of the essentials of generosity.*' However, the princes and emirs said: 'Carelessness and [49] over-confidence in the case of an enemy are remote from the highway of rectitude and wisdom.

second element of Qada-Kürin occurs as the name of a Kereit chieftain, the Kürin Bādu[r] of the *Shêng-wu ch'in-chêng lu* and the Übchiqtai Gürin Ba'atur of the *Secret History* (§ 160). See Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 295 and 328–9. Finally, for the Ghang-Kidan or the like on which the Chinese transcription Kang Ch'i-tan is based, M.Q.'s text has QLČQAY (based on the QLǰQAY of B), which would appear to be a corruption of an original QNXTAY, i.e. *Qan-Khitai. The second element of this compound is of course the name (*Khitai* or *Qitan*) of the Manchurian people who founded the Liao Dynasty in Northern China. Of the names not mentioned in the *Yüan shih* SRTAN is presumably the Mongol Sorghan or Sorqan, on which see Pelliot-Hambis, *op. cit.*, 157–8, and ṬTAN is the Turkish Toghan 'Falcon'. On Yasa'ur (reading YS'WR for the YSWR of the text) see above, i, 46, n. 13.

[89] Koran, lxxviii, 41.

And the application of a salve in place of the sword
in high matters is as harmful as to apply
the sword in place of an unguent.[90]

Wherever thou oughtest to make a scar, when thou puttest
a salve thereon, it availeth not.[91]

And when a man of counsel has got the advantage over malignant foe, if he delays taking vengeance on him, that is f indeed removed from perfect prudence and farsightedness and the end will be the occasion of regret [92] and repentance.

If thou get a chance at thy enemy, begin no other concern.

Kindness has no influence over the wicked; it is like see scattered on a saline swamp: it yields no fruit, and thoug cloud after cloud rain down upon it, they produce no effe and nothing will grow.

A tree whose nature is bitter, if thou plantest it in
the Garden of Paradise;
And if at the time of watering thou pourest honey and
pure musk over its roots from the stream of Paradise;
In the end it displays its nature and bears that same
bitter fruit.[93]

And if punishment were not necessary and mighty kings an powerful monarchs could dispense therewith, the verse of "Iro and the Sword" would not have been sent down and the would have been no commandment regarding retaliation, whic is the cause of survival and of generation and increase: *"in th law of retaliation is your [security for] life, O men of understanding!"*

[50] A tree produces blossom only when it bursts the end
of every branch.
O king thou must store up vengeance for the enemy of thy kingdom,
And thou must learn this rule from the sun,
For until he struck his sword [95] victoriously out of his station (*martaba*),
The world was not lit up by his light.'

[90] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.) [91] From the *Hadiqa* of Sana'i. (M.Q.)
[92] Reading *hasrat* with H.
[93] From Firdausi's satire on Sultan Mahmud (Mohl, I, xci).
[94] Koran, ii, 175. [95] I.e. until the first rays appeared on the horizon

Mengü Qa'an realized that such words as these are spoken out of sincerity and not from motives of self-interest or hypocrisy. And with respect to the wicked emirs aforementioned who had kept the princes to these paths and involved them in these abysses and crimes he gave orders that they should be put to the sword in anger in accordance with the commandment of God *(mighty is His name!)*: '*They were drowned and made go into the fire.*' [96] The first was Elchitei: his head and feet were cut off. Then Taunal was trampled underfoot. *Qata-Kürin chose [to comply with] the proverb: '*By my hand, not by 'Amr's:*' he ran his belly on to a sword and was so killed. And as for the rest they departed this life in turn in the same manner: '*they shall bear their burdens on* [51] *their backs! Will that not be evil with which they shall be burdened?*' [97]

These tidings reaching Yesün-Toqa, the grandson of Chaghatai, he left all his army and taking 30 horsemen set out of his own accord.[98] He was sent to the *nerge* [99] around Naqu and Siremün, and they remained in one place.

In a word, if anyone had been meditating rebellion in his heart, Heavenly Predestination was now fixing a rope about the neck of his plans and pulling them along at a run, whilst the propitious horoscope and daily-increasing splendour [of Mengü Qa'an] was rendering these haughty tyrants and devils docile and submissive in the grasp of obedience and command, so that each of them would say in dumb show:

> 'Thou hast asked for my head. It cannot be given to anyone.
> I will come and bring it on my neck.' [100]

And *elchis* went after some of them and fetched them.

As for Qadaq Noyan he had not yet arrived. He realized that to him was due the origin of this estrangement, that from him had arisen the source of this alienation, that it was he who had stirred up the dust of this disaffection and cast the fire of

[96] Koran, lxxi, 25.

[97] *Ibid.*, vi, 31.

[98] *bi-pā-yi-khwīsh.* Lit. 'with his own feet'.

[99] The meaning is presumably that he was imprisoned inside the *nerge* along with Naqu and Siremün.

[100] The second half of a quatrain by Nusrat-ad-Din of Kabud-Jama. (M.Q.)

turmoil into the world and that all this might not be righted by his hand.

[52] *How many a squadron did I embroil with another, and when they were embroiled I shook my hand off it!* [101]

When therefore Siremün and Naqu set out, he wished to draw back his foot from the affair '*after the destruction of Basra*',[102] and lay his hand in the bosom of retirement and seclusion, and rest his back against the mountain of comfort, and hide his face, hoping safely to keep his head upon his neck and his soul in his body. And this desire he kept boiling in the pot of his brain upon the fire of greed, singing to himself:

> 'Strive to reach a place of refuge safely, for the road is exceeding frightful and a station very far away.'

And day and night he thus pondered and reflected, trying to think of some opening through which he might achieve security and escape. And all the while Destiny laughed at his grief and anguish, his weeping and crying, and said in figurative language:

> 'If thy tongue were discreet, what business would the sword have with thy head?'

Suddenly the agents of the Court arrived like so many Angels of Death and said:

> 'All thy friends have gone; now 'tis thy turn.
>
> Come tent-man, strike thy tents, for the leader [of the caravan] has left the stage.' [103]

They took him out of his tent and brought him on a wagon as far as Qara-Qorum. Though he pretended to be very ill they saw fit to remove him from thence and took him away. Upon arriving at Court he was tried by the *yarghuchis* and though his

[101] By al-Farrār as-Sulami, a poet of the *Hamasa*. He is excusing himself for fleeing from battle. (M.Q.) 'I shook my hand off it,' i.e. 'I broke off the engagement.'

[102] I.e. when it was too late.

[103] Manuchihri. (M.Q.) The whole poem is translated in Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 30–4.

guilt was more notorious than the infidelity of Iblis yet it was [only] after confessing and admitting [his crimes] that he departed in the wake of his friends and companions, [53] and drank his fill in the watering-place of '*and cause them to descend into the fire; and wretched the descent by which they shall descend!*'[104]

And since some who were in other places had not yet arrived [the princes] did not yet feel secure from their wicked tenets and evil machinations. They therefore sent *Bürilgitei[105] Noyan with an army consisting of ten *tümens* of valiant youths and spirited Turks to the region of Ulugh-Taq,[106] *Qanghai[107] and *Qum-Sengir,[108] which lies between Besh-Baligh and Qara-Qorum, so that a *nerge* might stretch from thence to the *nerge* of Qonghuran[109] Oghul, [54] who was in the neighbourhood of Qayaligh and had extended his *nerge* to the region of Otrar. And Yeke Noyan was sent to the country of the Qirqiz and the Kemchihüd[110] with two *tümens* of men.

Meanwhile, neither Oghul-Ghaimish nor her son Khoja having yet arrived, *elchis* went to both mother and son with a message to the following effect: 'If you had no share with these men in this conspiracy and did not agree with or assist them, it is essential for your happiness and will be the sign [of your

[104] Koran, xi, 100.

[105] See above, i, 246, n. 9.

[106] ALΓ TAQ. Lit. 'the Great Mountain', apparently in the region of the present-day Kobdo.

[107] Reading QNΓAY or QANΓAY for the MWTΓAY of the text. (Several of the MSS. have Q as the first lette of the word.) On Qanghai, i.e. the Khangai *mountain range in Mongolia, see below, p. 609, n. 9.*

[108] Reading QWM SNKR for the YWRYLYK of the text. Such a reading had already been tentatively suggested by Pelliot, *op. cit.*, [197]*n*. On Qum-Sengir see above, i, 261, n. 42.

[109] QNΓWRAN. The Qongqïran (QWNK QYRAN) of Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 103), the fourth son of Orda (Hordu). His name, like that of the Onggïran of the *Secret History* (§ 202), appears to be the singular form of the name of the tribe (see above, i, 38, n. 15); and in fact, according to Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 92 and 93) both his mother and his paternal grandmother belonged to the Qonqïrat.

[110] KM JHWD. I.e. Kem-Kemchi'üt, the country (strictly speaking, the *people*) between the Kem (i.e. the Upper Yenisei) and its left-bank affluent the Kemchik. See Pelliot–Hambis, *op. cit.*, 317. On an alternative form, Qam-Kemchik, see above, i. 69 and n. 21.

innocence] that you proceed to Court and [55] do so with all speed.'

When Shilemün Bitikchi, who was the *elchi* sent to Khoja, had finished delivering his message, Khoja paid little heed to his words and was about to make an attack upon him and commit an abominable act. But one of his wives, lower in rank than the rest but superior in wisdom and intelligence, prevented his intention and said: 'It is the messenger's duty to deliver his message, and in no age have men molested the messenger even of rebels. How then, when an *elchi* comes from Mengü Qa'an, can one make an attempt upon his life? And by the killing of one man how can his kingdom be possibly harmed or weakened? Such an action will generate many evils; oceans of trouble will rage; the world will be set in confusion; the flame of calamities will fire up; and when the matter is beyond thy control, contrition and repentance will be of no avail. Mengü Qa'an is the *aqa* and in the position of a father: thou must go to him and submit thyself to his command, whatever it be.'

Since Fortune favoured Khoja he reflected upon these words and considered how the event would be dangerous and the subject of regret. He therefore hearkened to her words with the ear of consent and showed honour and respect to Shilemün. Thereupon he and his wife set out from where they were and hastened to Court.

As for Tekshi [111] Oghul, who had come with his *aqa* Qara-Hülegü, [56] he went to Büri. And Türkmen Bitikchi was sent to Yesü-Mengü and Toqashi [112] his wife and the emirs and *noyans* of Ulugh-Ef. After making known the fate of those people,[113] whose feet had been caught in the snare of their own

[111] Tekshi, as M.Q. points out, was the son of Mochi and therefore not the younger brother but the cousin of Qara-Hülegü; but *aqa* is probably used loosely.

[112] Here TQAŠY, but below (III, 57) ṬTAŠY: Rashīd-ad-Dīn (Blochet, 297) has ṬWQAŠY. In a letter dated the 20th April, 1955, Professor Cleaves suggested the possible identity of this name with the Mongol *toghasi* (*toghashi*) 'calculable', perhaps used here in the sense of 'estimable'.

[113] I.e. the conspirators.

action, [Türkmen Bitikchi spoke as follows]: 'If you did not support these men in their rebellion, why are you needlessly so slow in coming to join us and what is the reason for this delay, and procrastination, and remissness? If that thought had no place in your minds, you should set out forthwith. Otherwise you must fix your place of battle and make ready your weapons of war. "*And he that warneth is excused.*"'

Hearing these words they were overcome with fear and dread of the Emperor. [57] They repudiated those ideas and entirely disassociated themselves from them. After delivering their message the *elchis*[114] returned immediately not even stopping to take food. Büri, Yesü and Toghashi[115] also set out.

As for such of those people as had set out from the region of Emil and Qayaligh, as each of them came to the army of Bürilgitei, he sent them on without their arms together with the greater emirs: as for the rest of them he dealt with them and disposed of them as he saw fit.

As soon as Khoja reached Court he was sent to join [58] Siremün and the other princes. As for the emirs who accompanied him, men such as * Bughatai[116] Qorchi, Arghasun[117] the son of Eljigitei and others, they were all of them tried and then dispatched along the road that their likes had trodden.

Chinqai too arrived. He was dealt with by Danishmand

[114] I.e. Türkmen Bitikchi and his colleagues. (M.Q.)

[115] See above, p. 586, n. 112.

[116] The text, following A, has QWRBГAY, i.e. apparently Qurbaghai (i.e. Qurbagha, 'the Frog', on which see above, i, 243, n. 11), but all the other MSS. have a different word, which in O is quite clearly BГTAY, perhaps identical with the Buqatai of the *Secret History* (§ 158).

[117] ARГASWN. The Harqasun of the *Secret History* and Rashid-ad-Din. The form of the name in Juvaini corresponds exactly to the spelling of the word *arghasun* in Chaghatai Turkish, 'où il est sûrement emprunté au mongol et où il désigne la fiente sèche servant de combustible'. See Pelliot, *Mots à h initiale dans le mongol*, 205. The oddness of the name is accounted for by the Mongol custom of calling children after the first object to catch the mother's eye after her confinement. See Grousset, *op. cit.*, 541. Harqasun, according to the *Secret History* (§ 275), had been associated with Güyük and Büri in their quarrel with Batu (on which see below, p. 588, n. 124); and this circumstance was probably remembered against him on the present occasion. Cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, 302 and 310.

Hajib in Ramazan of the year 650 [November–December, 1252]. There is an account of him in a separate chapter.[118]

After all these came Ghaimish Khatun: she was sent together with Qadaqach,[119] the mother of Siremün, to the *ordu* of Beki. [59] Thither went Mengeser Noyan, and the sons of these women having admitted being the originators of the conspiracy, they paid the penalty for their action after having been tried and confessed their guilt.[120]

Yesü, his wife Toqashi and Büri likewise arrived, and a number of emirs and *bitikchis* of high standing, men such as Miran[121] Bitikchi, Suman[122] Qorchi, Abachi[123] and other *noyans* commanding *tümens*. Such as were emirs met their ends [immediately]. Yesü and Büri were sent to the Court of Batu.[124] As for Toqashi Khatun, she was tried by Qara-Hülegü in the presence of Yesü: he ordered her limbs to be

[118] There is in fact, as M.Q. points out, no such chapter in any MS.

[119] QDAQAJ. The Qataqash of Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 163). (On the spelling of her name see Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [203], n. 3.) She was the wife of Ögedei's third son Köchü (whose name is mis-spelt Kerju by Khetagurov) and belonged to the Qonqïrat tribe. Her grandfather was Alchi Noyan, the brother of Chingiz-Khan's chief wife, Börte Fujin, who was in consequence her great-aunt.

[120] On the trial and execution of Oghul-Ghaimish herself, see Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 304, Grousset, *op. cit.*, 310.

[121] MYRAN.

[122] SWMAN.

[123] ABAJY. This name ('the Hunter') was borne by a grandson of Orda (Hordu) and a great-grandson of Batu. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 102 and 111, Hambis, *op. cit.*, 54.

[124] Batu had an old score to settle with Büri. Accounts differ as to the details. According to the *Secret History* (§ 278, cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, 301–2) Büri, together with Güyük and Harqasun, had used insulting language towards Batu at a banquet held by the princes after the capture of Magas, the Ossete capital, i.e. some time in 1240. Rubruck's version (Rockhill, 136–7) refers only to Büri, and the scene appears to be set in a later period, when the Mongols were in peaceful possession of their grazing-lands along the Volga. Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 164) speaks of an insult uttered during the reign of Möngke: it was on this account that Büri was handed over to Batu, by whom he was put to death. Rubruck too mentions his execution by Batu. See Pelliot, *op. cit.* [204] and n. 1. Büri had brought back from the campaign in Eastern Europe a number of German slaves, who appear to have formed the subject of a pontifical letter to their master: it was largely on account of these men, says Rubruck, that he had undertaken his journey to the Mongols. See Rockhill, *loc. cit.*, 225 and 238, Pelliot, *op cit.* [216]–[218].

kicked to pulp and so assuaged an ancient grudge which he had cherished in his heart.

[60] Meanwhile, in Besh-Baligh the *idi-qut*, who was the leader of the polytheists and idolaters,[125] had come to an understanding with a band of rebels and had arranged with them that to the congregation of the Moslems in the Friday mosque they should cause to appear black night in broad daylight so that in the morning they might behold midnight; and thus they were to cover the light of Islam with the darkness of unbelief and so to scatter the assembled believers that there might be hope of gathering them together again on the Judgement Day. '*Fain would they put out God's light with their mouths: but God only desireth to perfect His light, albeit the Infidels abhor it.*'[126] The miracle of the faith of Mohammed revealed the secret of the enigma *(muṣaḥḥaf)* and the light of the law of Ahmad showed up the design upon the dark page. A slave from amongst them becoming acquainted with the ins and outs of their plotting, he confessed Islam and became *aiqaq* against them, pinning that crime to them. The *idi-qut* with a number of others was brought to the *ordu* and tried. And the charges having been accepted [61] he was ordered to be taken to Besh-Baligh, where all classes of the populace, Moslems and idolaters, were gathered together on the plain and in the presence of the people he was handed over to the demons of hell. And for this victory, whereby they gained fresh life, the Moslems rendered thanks unto God.

A victory to which the gates of the heavens open up, and
the earth appears in new striped clothes.[127]

And this punishment and requital caused the victorious[128] Emperor Mengü Qa'an to be blessed even more and to acquire even greater merit. May God Almighty make this just retribution the cause of the endurance of his Empire and the continuance

[125] *mushrikān va but-parastān.* Presumably Buddhists are meant. See above, i, 59, n. 22, and ii, 505, n. 13. [126] Koran, ix, 32.

[127] From the famous *qasida* by Abu-Tammam in praise of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim billah and celebrating the victory of 'Ammuriya. (M.Q.)

[128] *ghāzī* 'victorious against the infidel', a specifically Islamic title almost incredible in this context.

of his Khanate ! (This subject has been dealt with exhaustively in the chapter on the *idi-qut.*)[129]

At this time Eljigitei was in Iraq. Ghadaqan Qorchi set out and went to wait on Batu and then proceeded from thence accompanied by *nökers* to arrest him. Upon their arrival in Iraq Eljigitei made off travelling light and went to Badghis. Here he was seized by the *elchis*, who bore him off to Batu with some [62] of his followers. He met the same end [as the rest].

> He counted a few moments and then became nothing. Jeeringly
> the world said: 'He too is gone.'

The details of the case may be ascertained from the chapter devoted to Eljigitei.[130]

All that now remained of the rebels [were concealed] in nooks and crannies and had retired into the corner of seclusion; and it took some time to produce every one of them. Bala the *yarghuchi* was sent together with *nökers* to the armies of Yesü to examine and question their mates and fellows; and all who had taken part in the conspiracy were put to death. Another emir was sent to Khitai charged with the same task.

These disturbances, which by the excitement of evil had all but set the world on fire, were now over and all care was dismissed from men's minds. Now the aforementioned princes had been puffed up with pride and had strayed far from the path of discretion and the acceptance of advice because of the promptings of wicked teachers and the suggestions of impious emirs, and '*an evil companion is like fire: if its heat harm thee not thou shalt not escape* [63] *its smoke*'.[131] Moreover the goodness of the blessed Emperor's nature and the purity of his heart required him to regard it as his first duty to respect the claims of kinship and consanguinity by the passing over of faults; he was bound also in the moment of his pomp and glory to consider it an

[129] See above, i, 48-53.

[130] There is again, as M.Q. points out, no such chapter. It is a pity, for it might have contained some account of his relations with Louis IX. See above, i, 256, n. 27. Cf. also Pelliot, *op. cit.* [202]-[203].

[131] See the *Majma'-al Amthāl,* I, 115, and II, 146, for two proverbs to more or less the same purpose with some slight variations. (M.Q.)

obligation in the code of magnanimity to comply with the proverb: '*If thou be king be kind.*'[132]

> *Pay the tithe on thy glory and know that like the tithe on property*[133] *it must be paid in full.*

He therefore, *huma*-like, spread the wing of mercy and compassion over their heads and covered the slips and errors of each of them with the skirt of pardon and forgiveness.

> *And he does not nurse his ancient grudge against them, for he is not a leader of the people who nurses a grudge.*[134]

And wishing to chasten but not to torture them he gave command that in conformity with the tradition: '*Travel that ye may gain*'[135] they should for a while set foot upon the road of exile—

> The moon endures the fatigue of travel in order to become full—

[64] and in the toil of combats and battles should display the resourcefulness of men and the competence of masters—

> *The glory of dangers lies in the dangers [themselves]*[136]

in order to wash off the dirt and filth of their crimes with the sweat of undergoing and enduring dangers and so to cleanse and purify their veins from the taint of treachery and the defect of sinfulness.

> Verily, fire maketh pure the standard of gold.

And every child that is not trained and trimmed into shape by the instruction of loving kinsfolk will without doubt be tested and chastened by the teaching of unkind, quarrelsome Fate.

> *Whoever is not taught by his parents will be taught by Night and Day.*

He gave orders therefore that Siremün, Naqu and Yesün-Toqa should proceed to various provinces of [65] Manzi, Siremün

[132] *Ibid.*, II, 158. (M.Q.)

[133] *zakāt-al-māl.*

[134] Slightly adapted from al-Muqanna' al-Kindi. See Tabrizi, *Sharḥ-al-Ḥamāsa*, III, 100–1. (M.Q.)

[135] A well-known *hadith*. (M.Q.)

[136] From a famous *qasida* by at-Tihami. (M.Q.)

accompanying Qubilai Oghul and Naqu Jagha Noyan,[137] whilst Yesün-Toqa went elsewhere.

As for Khoja, out of gratitude to his wife the Emperor exempted him from taking part in a campaign and fixed his place of residence in the region of Solangai,[138] which is near to Qara-Qorum. '*And of God was this act which decorated the preface of generosity and cast dust upon the endeavours of the rulers of the nations.*'

> *God's are His acts, which are fair to behold and good to publish.*
> *They have deposited in all souls love, which they offer to Him secretly and openly.*

And the pearl-raining words of the Prophet are to this effect: '*Maintain the bonds of kinship*' and '*Close ties of kinship prolong life*'.[139] And this commandment is not directed to one nation exclusively, for [66] all nations have their share herein and its meaning is fixed by the intellect intuitively, for to maintain the ties of kinship is to blend and intertwine. Now if this tradition is followed in the literal sense of the words it is inconsistent with the verse: '*When their time is come, they shall not retard it an hour; and they shall not advance it.*'[140] But since traditions confirm verses and sound *hadiths* agree with the Word of God and the Holy Koran, it has been established as an irrefutable fact that the prolongation of life by maintaining the ties of kinship takes place in two ways. First, by marriage and matrimony, whereby the begetting of children is rendered possible and generation after generation of descendants and successors come from the world of non-existence on to the courtyard of existence and from the sanctum of concealment on to the plain of manifestation. And the remembrance of forebears and ancestors remains as a

[137] Or Jaghan Noyan. See above, i, 256, n. 26.

[138] SWLNKAY. Solanga, i.e. Northern Korea, seems out of the question. Perhaps, in spite of the spelling in the text (which is based on A) and most of the MSS., we should read SLNKAY, i.e. the Selenga. Juvaini's narrative is much more detailed than the *Yüan shih*, according to which Siremün, Yesü and Büri (see above, n. 124) were exiled, whilst Qocha (Khoja), Naqu and Yesün-To'a became 'prisoners with the armies'. See Pelliot, *op. cit.* [203]-[204].

[139] Two *hadiths*. (M.Q.)

[140] Koran, vii, 32.

monument on the face of the world by the children's cleaving to the ways of their fathers. And by life the wise man understands fame and fair renown such as is spread and diffused throughout the world and remains and endures for ever after he is gone. And the existence of a noble successor who is not a base lout is the life of all that preceded him. And in the second place, [the maintenance of such ties is] by harmony and concord amongst kindred and family and friendship and kindness towards the more distant and strangers so that by assisting one another, though they be weak, they may vanquish several strong enemies, [67] just as sinews and hairs, which when they support one another cannot be broken by an elephant.

> A thread, when it is single, may be snapped by the strength of an old woman (*zāl*):
> When it is doubled it cannot be broken by Zal-i-Zar.[141]

And by the blessings of concord and mutual assistance they are saved from perils and dangers, from which hope of relief is cut off, and none may look on them with the glance of scorn and contempt, and they pass their lives among mankind in easy circumstances, respected, powerful and honoured; and the road is closed to foes to gain the mastery over them. And to the man of lofty ambition one such day of life in a position of veneration is better indeed than a whole year spent in frustration and abjectness.

> *Truly death is better for a young man than sitting in penury and [it is better] than a master whose scorpions creep.*[142]

In this way Chingiz-Khan and his posterity have conquered the greater part of the world; and the rest of mankind breathe the breath of submission and accept the payment of taxes *(māl)* and tribute *(kharāj)*. One day, at the time of his first rising to power he was giving them this advice and instructing them each

[141] *Zāl-i-zar*, i.e. Zāl the Aged, Rustam's father. E, G, and O have *pūr-i-Zāl* 'the son of Zāl', i.e. Rustam himself.

[142] Abun-Nashnāsh. See *Sharḥ-al-Ḥamāsa*, I, 167, *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, XI, 45. (M. Q.)

individually. [68] To serve as an example he drew an arrow from his quiver and gave it to them. Clearly it required no great strength to break it. He made the number two and so continued till there were fourteen, and even athletes were unable to break them. 'So it is,' he said, 'with my sons also. So long as they tread the path of regard one for another they shall be secure from the evils of events and shall be free to enjoy the fruits of their kingdom. And if they act otherwise they shall fare otherwise.' [143]

Now had the Sultans of Islam laid the same foundations in the protection of kinsmen and strangers, and had they consolidated this basis, and given asylum to refugees in their sanctuaries, and accounted an attack upon relations as repudiated in the code of liberality and humanity and forbidden in the canon of compassion and pity, it would then have been impossible to destroy them.

Of the issue of the race and lineage *(urugh)* of Chingiz-Khan there are now living in the comfort of wealth and affluence more than 20,000. More than this I will not say but shall rather avoid [the subject] lest the readers of this history should accuse the writer of these lines of exaggeration and hyperbole [69] and ask how from the loins of one man there could spring in so short a time so great a progeny.

The august mind of Mengü was now relieved of all business and the assembly of princes resolved to retire and return. They were gladdened and made happy with every kind of favour and bounty and every sort of kindness and benevolence, and each individually was distinguished and gratified in a different way. And since Berke Oghul and Togha-Temür, who came from Batu, had the greatest distance to go and had been the longest absent he dismissed them the first and [bestowed upon them] favours and gifts of every kind and all manner of gratifications such that the belt of narration would be tightened by the description thereof. And he sent with them for Batu presents such as are sent from a world-king to a king-maker; for the sun sheds light worthy of himself upon the planets and fixed stars, and the

[143] See above, i, 41 and n. 7.

fresh-water stream according to the desires of the scooper and the diver scatters pearls and water.

As for Qadaghan Oghul and Melik [144] [70] Oghul, he gave each of them an *ordu* from the *ordus* and residences of Qa'an and bestowed the ladies of the *ordus* upon them. He likewise gave them about a *tümen* of Qa'an's emirs and troops and valuable presents such as Fate herself is sparing of and appointed a *yurt* for each of them in which he might cast away the staff of travel and raise up the tent of residence.

After them he dismissed Qara-Hülegü with great honour and bestowed upon him the place of his father which had been seized by his uncle. He returned in exultation and triumph and had reached the Altai, his desires not yet fully gratified, when he was unable to advance another step before the decree of God was fulfilled.

> Not having obtained his food from the ruby of thy lips,
> not having reaped his ear of corn from the field of Desire.

As for the rest of the princes and the *noyans* and emirs, he dismissed each of them in accordance with the dignity of his rank and station and as his own magnanimity dictated.

> *They returned and praised him as he deserved, and if they*
> *had been silent their saddle-bags would have praised him.*[145]

And as for Keshik he made him a *tarkhan* [146] and gave him so much wealth that he became a man of means, [71] lofty of rank and inaccessible of approach.

And the princes having departed and their business being dispatched he turned his attention to the administration of the realm, and the straightening of the crooked, and the righting of the wrong, and the chiding of the wicked, and the suppression of the seditious. And when his royal resolve was directed

[144] Or Mengli. See above, i, 244, n. 15.

[145] Nuṣaib b. Rabāḥ in praise of Sulaiman b. 'Abd-al-Malik [the Umayyad Caliph, 715–17]. (M.Q.) The meaning is that even if the recipients themselves had remained silent about the Caliph's gifts the clatter of their bulging saddle-bags would have borne witness to his generosity.

[146] See above, i, 37–8.

towards crushing the obstinacy of rebels and softening the necks of traitors and his lofty mind was intent upon alleviating the toils of mankind and lightening the labours [147] of the people, his perfect intellect preferred earnest to jest, and abandoned the constant quaffing of ancient wine and with the snares and corn [148] of overflowing justice and beneficence captured the love of men's inmost hearts.

First he appointed armies for the East and the West, for the lands of the Arabs and the non-Arabs. The Eastern countries and the provinces of [72] Khitai, Manzi, Solangai [149] and Tangut he entrusted to Qubilai Oghul, who is distinguished by his wisdom and sagacity, his intelligence and shrewdness. He nominated *noyans* of high standing to accompany him and placed under his command all the emirs of the right and the left [150] who were resident in those regions. The Western countries he allotted to his other brother Hülegü Oghul, who is renowned for his firmness and dignity, his vigilance and caution, his powerful protection and his jealous sense of honour; and he appointed double the number of troops to accompany him. And Ked-Buqa [151] Bavurchi [152] set out in advance in the middle of Jumada I, 650 [July, 1252], in order to begin dealing with the Heretics.

> By thy command which has gone forth let them travel night
> and day, now from Chin towards Rum, and now from Rum
> towards Chin.

And in order to assess the taxes and register the names of the people he appointed governors, and *shabnas*, and scribes. [73]

[147] *mu'an* seems to be used here in the sense of *corvées*.

[148] I.e. corn used as bait.

[149] SLNKAY. Here of course only Northern Korea can be meant. See above, p. 592, n. 138.

[150] I.e. of the West and the East.

[151] KYD BWQA. 'Fine Bull.' This was Hülegü's famous Christian general, the conqueror of Damascus. See Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 435–9, Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 57.

[152] I.e. Ked-Buqa the Steward. On the office of *bavurchi* (*bawurchi*), 'overseer of food and drink', see the *Secret History*, § 192, Barthold, *Turkestan*, 382, Spuler, *op. cit.*, 273

The Eastern countries from the beginning of the Fifth Clime[153] on the banks of the Oxus to the farthest limits of Khitai, which are the First Clime,[154] he settled as previously upon the Great Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-mu'aẓẓam)* Mahmud Yalavach and his worthy heir Mas'ud Beg, giving to Mahmud Yalavach, whose former services had been rewarded with marks of favour and who had arrived before his auspicious accession, the region of Khitai, whilst to Mas'ud Beg, who had come in fear and trembling and had experienced terror and danger because of his devotion and adherence to the Emperor, until in the end after escaping that peril he became all-powerful and enjoyed great honour, there fell the whole of Transoxiana, Turkestan, Otrar, the land of the Uighur, Khotan, Kashghar, Jand, Khorazm and Farghana. And since their arrival at Court had preceded the *quriltai,* he dismissed them the sooner and [74] all who had accompanied them were distinguished with all manner of favours.

After their departure the Great Emir Arghun, who had travelled an immense distance [along a route] fraught with terrors and menaces arrived in Court on the 20th of Safar, 650 [2nd of May, 1252], after the *quriltai* had dispersed and each of the princes had departed to his home. And since perpetual favour and eternal ability had ever been in attendance on him and he had previously distinguished himself in devoted fidelity to the dynasty and sincere devotion to the royal house by the adoption of firm measures and the employment of perspicacious methods (and '*in the morning men praise the evening*'), he was singled out by the granting of his wishes and the attainment of his aims; and there was laid in his hands authority over the countries of Khorasan, Mazandaran, India, Iraq, Fars, Kerman, Lur, Arran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Mosul and Aleppo. And all the *maliks,* emirs and *bitikchis* who accompanied him were at

[153] 'The FIFTH CLIME begins in the East in the lands of Gog and Magog and runs through the northern part of Khorasan, Transoxiana and Khwārazm, then through Ādharbāyjān, Armenia and the lands of Rūm, then through the shores of the Syrian Sea in their northern part, then through the lands of Spain, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.' (Marvazi, 14.)

[154] 'The FIRST CLIME begins in the East at the farthest limits of the Chinese lands and stretches over the latter in their southern extension. . . .' (*Ibid.*, 13.)

his suggestion and by his favour distinguished and honoured; and on the 20th of Ramazan of the same year [155] they set out [on the return journey]. Some of their number [156] still had all kinds of business to attend to; these remained behind for a few days and then departed joyfully after him.

The Emperor appointed *nökers* to accompany these [75] governors just mentioned and he commanded them to hold a census of the provinces and assess the taxes; and when they had finished, to turn back and proceed in haste to Court. And each of them had instructions to the effect that the conditions previously prevailing should be properly investigated and examined and that none of them should shirk the difficulties of the task. However '*God hath forgiven what is past*' and the Emperor was concerned with alleviating the lot of the people, not increasing the wealth in the treasury. And he issued a *yarligh* reducing the contributions [157] *(mu'an)* on the people, the text of which is preserved in the archives [158] and from which it is clear how great are his concern and solicitude for the affairs of mankind and the maintenance of their interests.

After the death of Güyük Khan the princes [76] had issued an excessive number of *yarlighs*; they had engaged in commercial ventures and dispatched *elchis* to all parts of the world. Moreover persons noble and base had sought the protection afforded by being an *ortaq* and the subjects had fled from the greatness of the burden.[159] The Emperor now gave orders that any *yarlighs* or *paizas* from the time of Chingiz-Khan, Qa'an, Güyük Khan and the other princes that were held by any one of them in the province belonging to him should be returned and that henceforth the princes should not give or write instructions

[155] The same date is given by Rashid-ad-Din (Blochet, 309–10): it corresponds to the 24th November, 1252. This is inconsistent with Juvaini's earlier statement (see above, p. 519) that he and Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i, who remained behind for a few days after the departure of the main party, left Qara-Qorum in August–September, 1253.

[156] Juvaini and Siraj-ad-Din Shuja'i. See preceding note.

[157] See above, p. 596, n. 147.

[158] *khazāyin-i-adrāj va aurāq.*

[159] Reading *az bisyārī-yi-bār, zīr-dastān jasta* for the *az bisyārī bā zīr-dastān jasta* of the text. But, as M.Q. says, the sense is obscure, and Rashid-ad-Din, who follows this passage very closely, has omitted this sentence.

regarding any matter relating to the financial administration *(maṣāliḥ)* of the provinces without first consulting the agents of the Court. As for the more important *elchis* they should not make use of more than fourteen *ulaghs*; they should proceed from *yam* to *yam* and should enter no village or town in which they had no specific business; and they should take no more provisions *('ulūfa)* than the amount allotted [77] for each man. Furthermore the practice of tyranny and oppression having exceeded all bounds [160] and the peasants in particular being crushed and ground underfoot by the collection of casual levies *('avāriẓ)* to such an extent that the produce of their crops did not amount to the half of the contributions *(mu'ūnāt)* from them, he gave orders that all *ortaqs* and financial and administrative agents *(aṣḥāb-i-'amal va shughl)* should behave with self-control [161] in their dealings with the people. Each should pay in proportion to his circumstances and ability the amount due from him according to the assessment *(bar vajh-i-mu'āmalat)* except such as were exempt from the inconvenience of contributions *(mu'an)* by the ordinance of Chingiz-Khan and Qa'an, i.e. of the Moslems the great *sayyids* and the excellent *imams*, of the Christians, whom they call *erke'ün*,[162] the monks and scholars *(aḥbār)* and of the idolaters the priests whom they call *toyin* [163] [78], the famous *toyins*; and of all these classes of people, those who are advanced in years and no longer capable of earning a living. The Jews heard of this ordinance and not being included in that category they became exceedingly vexed and annoyed; they were perplexed and bewildered and thrust the hand of discomfiture into their beards. As Zahir [164] says in his description of a preacher:

> A red-bearded fellow was present. He put his hand to his beard when he heard that.
>
> He said: 'We are not of that number. We amount to nothing in either world.'

[160] Lit. 'risen to the sky'.

[161] *pāi bi-rauzan furū kunand,* lit. 'thrust their feet down the smoke-vent'. See above, p. 579, n. 85.

[162] On *erke'ün* 'Christian', 'Christian priest', see Minovi and Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, 785.

[163] See above, i, 14, n. 31.

[164] I.e. Ẓahīr-i-Fāryābī.

And in order that every agent *(ṣāḥib-shughl)* might not distribute *(qismat)* [the revenue at his own discretion] he instituted an annual scheme *(muvāẓa'a)* [79] whereby in the countries of Khitai a man of great wealth was taxed eleven dinars and so in proportion down to the poor man who paid but one; and so it was in Transoxiana also; in Khorasan a rich man paid ten dinars and a poor man one. He further ordered that the governors and scribes should not show favour or partiality; that they should not accept bribes; and that they should not falsify the truth or display the false for the true. As for the levy on animals *(marā'i-yi-chahār-pāi)*, which they call *qupchur*, if a person had a hundred head of a particular kind of beast he was to give one, and if he had less, none. And wherever there were arrears *(baqāyā)* of taxes and whoever of the peasants owed them, they were not to pay [such arrears] nor were they to be exacted from them. As for the merchants and *ortaqs* who had made extensive deals with Güyük Khan, his wife and their children he ordered them to be paid from fresh revenue *(az māl-i-nau)*.[165]

And of all the peoples and religious communities he showed most honour and respect to the Moslems. It was upon them that he bestowed the largest amounts of gifts and alms and it was they who enjoyed the greatest rights. A proof of this is the following. On the occasion of the *'id-i-fitr*[166] in the year 650 [5th of December, 1252] the Moslems assembled before the Emperor[167] at the gate of the *ordu* together with the chief cadi Jamal-al-Milla vad-Din, the exemplar of [80] the *ulema*, Mahmud of Khojend *(may God perpetuate his excellence!)*. The chief cadi led the prayers and delivered the sermon, decorating and adorning the *khutba* with the mention of the Orthodox Caliphs[168] and the Commander of the Faithful. And when they had finished the prayer of the festival, which according to a tradition of the Prophet is more excellent than 2,000 prostrations

[165] On this whole passage see Minovi and Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 783–5.

[166] *'id-i-fiṭr*, in Arabic, *'id-al-fiṭr*, is the name of the festival held at the end of the fasting month of Ramazan.

[167] *dar ḥaẓrat-i-a'lā.*

[168] The first successors of Mohammed: Abū-Bakr (632–4), 'Umar (634–44), 'Uthmān (644–56) and 'Alī (656–61).

performed in the Kaʿba, the chief cadi entered the *ordu* and acting as *imam* prayed [for the Emperor] to the following effect:

'May the rising of the star of the Festival be lucky for thee,
for thy horoscope is lucky for all mankind.
Thy enemy is waning like the full moon from an eclipse; but
thy fortune, like the crescent moon, waxes day by day.'

He was viewed with the glance of favour and indulgence and several times commanded to repeat the prayer. And as a gift for the festival the Emperor presented [169] waggon-loads of gold and silver *balish* and all kinds of costly clothing, and the greater part of mankind had their share thereof; although at other times than festivals also his generosity towards the Moslems is great and boundless.

[81] *Because of thy gifts every day is a festival to us: how then shall the festival be distinguished on the day it returns?* [170]

And throughout his realm, wherever there was a criminal or a prisoner in the abasement of captivity, he ordered his release and liberation [171] and so gave him quarter from the trials and indignities of this world. And here I have inserted the following verses, which, although this is not the appropriate place for them, will yet have some appeal to men of taste and discernment:

Who am I to God that when I sin He should not forgive my sin?
Forgiveness is expected of the sons of Adam: how then
shall it not be expected of God?

In how many hearts did hope revive when necks were left upon bodies and dirhems and dinars in purses and wallets! And on this errand *elchis* and messengers sped to every corner of his realm.

Let the kings who bestow gold and silver learn the custom
of bestowing life [172] from our Sultan Bahram-Shah.[173]

Like the sun in mid-heaven whose light covereth the lands
in East and West.[174]

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169 Reading *īṯār* with the majority of the MSS. for the *ishārat* of the text.
170 Abivardi (M.Q.)
171 Reading *khalāṣ va iṭlāq* with E and O.
172 Or 'sparing lives'.
173 Presumably the Ghaznavid (1118–52).
174 Mutanabbi. (M.Q.)

Now were one to begin describing the deeds which spri daily from his being and to commence recounting the charita acts which thus manifest themselves, whole volumes would filled to overflowing. A little out of much, a drop from ocean, an atom from the sun has been and will be convey with the tongue of the pen to the ear of those interested. '*A li of it is a guide to the greater part.*'

And since the fame of his justice and equity has spread throug out the world, [82] all people, far and near, with a sinc desire seek refuge in allegiance to him and so obtain quar from his might. Others who are exceedingly far distant cheri the same wish, and ambassadors and *elchis* come from the la of the Franks, and farthest Syria, and the Abode of Peace; and sultans bring and send to his Court numberless gifts a presents of heavily laden horses.

> From these cities they send tribute, for they have not the
> strength and might to make war on him.[176]

And they return having satisfied their wants and attained th desires. They will each be mentioned in a separate chapter. Here we will say no more but will limit ourselves to uttering prayer for the [Emperor's] daily-increasing fortune:

> O Khusrau, may thy kingdom and thy life be increased,
> may the face of thy fortune be rosy!
> Thy fortune is the centre of the sun: may it be outside
> the orbit of decline!

[IV]

OF AN INSTANCE OF THE VIRTUOUS DEEDS OF HIS AUGUST MAJESTY THE WORLD-EMPEROR MENGU QA'. AFTER HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF THE EMPIR

In the introduction to this book there was some brief menti of his noble character and actions, and in the chapter on accession there were included some more detailed referen

[175] I.e. Baghdad. [176] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 1646, l. 3640

[177] These chapters were never written.

thereto. In order to corroborate what has been said we have recorded a story, which is the meeting-place of justice and generosity, in order that mankind may know of a certainty that this narration is unmarked with the brand of extravagance and innocent of the sin of aberration.

Merchants had hastened to the presence of Güyük Khan from all parts of the world and having concluded very large deals had been paid by drafts *(barāt)* on the lands of the East and the West. But since he did not tarry long in his kingdom, the greater part of that money remained unpaid and did not reach those merchants. And after his death, his wives, sons and [84] nephews concluded deals on a still greater scale than during his lifetime and wrote drafts in the same way. And crowds of other merchants came one after the other and carried out transactions with them. When the position of those people [1] changed and their cause was lost, there were some merchants who from former transfers *(ḥavāla)* had not obtained even a tenth of their due; some had not yet reached the stage of a transfer; some had delivered their wares but a price had not yet been fixed, and others had not yet received a draft *(barāt)*. When the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an took auspicious repose upon the throne of success and the necklaces of justice and equity had been strung, certain of these dealers approached him by way of a test partly hoping [to enjoy the benefit of] his justice and partly despairing of [achieving anything by] their petition for the money involved in this transaction; and they brought their case to his auspicious attention. All the functionaries of Court and Pillars of State were of opinion that there was no obligation to pay the amount due on this transaction out of the Emperor's treasury and that no mortal would have cause to object or cavil [if payment was refused]. But on the principle of the verses:

What will become of our realm, which is the basis of good
fortune, if desolation should flourish?
The generosity of the clouds has conquered the world because
it gives milk to the infants of the grass,

---

[1] I.e. Güyük's family and supporters. (M.Q.)

he spread the wing of compassion over them all and gave orders for the whole sum [85] to be met from the finances of his Empire. It amounted to 500,000 silver *balish,* and had he withheld it none would have had cause to object.

With such bounty he stole away the glory of Hatim-like kings and with such justice he cast dust into the eyes of Nushirvan-like emperors. And from what book of history has it been read or heard from reciters that a king paid the debt of another king? And no mortal ever discharged the obligations of his enemies. This is an instance of habits and practices from which one can deduce his behaviour in other matters, for '*all game is in the belly of the wild ass*'.[2]

> Before his might the nine-tiered heavens are like one
> four-walled ruin.[3]

An emperor like this, by the effect of his commands and prohibitions, cannot but be powerful and long-lived in accordance with the Divine Word: '*As to what is useful to man, it remaineth on the earth.*'[4] God Almighty grant him in sovereignty an unending life!

[V]

OF THE PILLARS OF STATE

WHEN the affairs of the world had been reduced to order by means of his justice, and the pus that irritated men's minds had been excised, and the disorders that had arisen had been allayed by his auspicious accession, and [86] the hands of oppression and iniquity bound, armies set out for all the four corners of the world, and rebels bowed their heads in submission, and from every land petitioners and office-holders bent their steps towards his presence and from far and near turned their faces towards his Court, which is the refuge of mankind and the

[2] A well-known proverb.
[3] Ẓahīr-i-Fāryābī. (M.Q.)
[4] Koran, xiii, 18.

asylum of the fearful. Their numbers were great and the needs of each of them beyond measure and their requirements various. They remained a long time at Court. As for the scribes and functionaries they fared variously, some becoming happy and fortunate and others disappointed and wretched.

And since the extreme solicitude and compassion of the gracious Emperor require that all his subjects should each of them have his share in accordance with the amount allotted to him, he gave orders that everything relating to the investigation of the affairs and claims of the people should be undertaken by the Emir Mengeser Noyan together with a body of other experienced emirs, who should thus consolidate the foundations of justice. And Bulghai Aqa,[1] who had acquired rights by reason of his past services, was commanded to be chief and leader of the scribes and to be their vizier. Like a chamberlain he was to announce the petition of each applicant[2] and to attend to it; and it was he who had to write *(nivisad va savād kunad)* the decrees *(amṣila)* and [87] mandates. And to act in association with the Emir Bulghai the Emperor appointed, of the Moslem *bitikchis,* the Emir 'Imad-al-Mulk, who had occupied this position at the courts of Qa'an and Güyük Khan also, and the Emir Fakhr-al-Mulk, who had precedence over the other officials of his Court on account of the length of his service, together with some others that were Mongols. And to each of them he assigned a separate task, on which after consulting and obtaining the permission of the Emir Bulghai they were to refer their reports to the knot-resolving counsel of the World-Emperor. As for affairs of the Divan, such as the assessment of taxes and the conferment of appointments, these are the concern of the Emir Bulghai in conjunction with one or two other persons.

Others are concerned with the affairs of merchants and traders. There are several classes of merchants. There are those who have received *balish* from the treasury and engaged to deliver a certain amount every year and there are those who have recently become *ortaqs.*

In former times before the Emperor's auspicious accession

[1] See above, p. 572, n. 69. [2] Reading *multamisān.*

important *ortaqs* had had *yarlighs* and *paizas* and no class of men enjoyed greater respect and authority. Some had *ulaghs* and were exempt from casual levies (*'avāriżāt*). But when he became Khan and the key of Empire was placed in the hand of his severity and justice, the order was given that *paizas* should not be given to merchants so that a distinction might be made between them and those engaged in affairs of the Divan. [88] That merchants should make use of *ulaghs* was inequitable in the extreme, and for that reason the people were not to be inconvenienced in this way. And since the merchants were constantly employed in their own gain, each of them should, in the place where he had been numbered in the census, undertake his share of the contributions (*mu'an*) on a footing of equality with the [rest of the Emperor's] subjects and not lay claim to a superior status.

Others are those who have brought goods to sell to the Emperor's treasury. Of these too there are several classes. Some value [3] jewels, others clothing, some animals and so on.

Others [4] collect and keep charge of the clothing assigned upon the various provinces; others do likewise with furs, and two or three with gold and silver cash.

Then there are separate persons to affix *al-tamghas*, issue *paizas* and supervise the arsenal.

There are many persons [89] in charge of the hunting birds and beasts and their keepers.

[Finally] there are one or two persons to deal with the affairs of *imams*, *sayyids*, dervishes, Christians and the holy men (*aḥbār*) of every religious community.

All these officials were commanded to be on their guard against the stain of usury [5] and covetousness. They were to arrest no one and were to bring each man's case promptly to the Emperor's attention.

[3] *qīmat kunand.* Perhaps 'sell', which seems to be the meaning required by the context.

[4] Here Juvaini appears to have ended the digression on merchants and to be speaking again of the Court functionaries.

[5] *ribā*, which M.Q. suggests may perhaps be used here in the sense of 'bribery'.

They are attended by scribes of every kind for Persian, Uighur, Khitayan, Tibetan, Tangut, etc., so that to whatever place a decree has to be written it may be issued in the language and script of that people.

[VI]

OF THE ADVANCE OF THE PRINCE OF THE WORLD HÜLEGÜ TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST

HE who to vigilant fortune has united meekness and modesty and to daily increasing felicity the virtue of guiding wisdom (Confronted with his world-adorning counsel the sun has no beauty and in [90] the presence of his generosity the clouds have no sustenance. Where are the khans of Chin and Machin that they may learn the rites of kingship ? In what case are the sultans of yore that they may witness the might of divinity ? Had the Caesars of Rum been blessed with the honour of entering his service, from his instruction they would have learnt the methods of world-dominion. And the Chosroes of Persia and the Pharaohs of Egypt would have gathered from his counsels and decisions the means of world-conquest.), the Lord of the Face of the Earth, Mengü Qa'an, had seen in the character of his brother Hülegü the indications of sovereignty and had detected in his enterprises the practices of conquest. Accordingly in the great *quriltai*, after he had been firmly seated on the throne of the Khanate and his attention was no longer concerned with the case of the self-seeking and the envious, he turned his mind towards the subjugation of the farthest East and West of the world. And first he dispatched Qubilai to the Eastern parts consisting of Khitai and then in the year 650/1252–3 proceeded to arrange and organize the affairs of his other brother Hülegü and charged him with the conquest of the Western parts. And as in the case of Qubilai's mission he allotted to him two persons out of every ten in the Eastern and Western armies and appointed one of the princes, his younger brother Sübetei Oghul, to accompany [91] him. He likewise dispatched as representatives

of Batu, Balaghai [1] son of Sibaqan, Tutar [2] Oghul and Quli [3] with troops belonging to Batu; as representative of Chaghatai, Tegüder [4] Oghul son of Mochi Oghul; from [92] Checheken Beki, Buqa-Temür [5] with an army of Oirat tribesmen; and from the sons-in-law, emirs and great *noyans* on every side a body of chiefs such as it would take too long to enumerate in detail. And he sent to Khitai to fetch mangonel experts and naphtha-throwers; and they brought from Khitai [93] 1,000 households *(khāna)* [6] of Khitayan mangonel-men, who with a stone missile would convert the eye of a needle into a passage for a camel, having fastened the poles of the mangonels so firmly with sinews *(pai)* and glue that when they aimed from the nadir to the zenith the missile did not return.

And *elchis* were sent on in advance to reserve [7] all pasturage

[1] BLΓAY. The Balakhay, Balaghay, etc., of Grigor and Kirakos (see Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 413–14). He was the fourth son of Siban. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 115, 117 and 137, where his name appears in the form Balaqan (BALAQAN). This spelling, in conjunction with the forms of the name in the Armenian historians, precludes the possibility of its identity (as suggested by Cleaves, *loc. cit.*, with respect to the Armenian forms) with Bulghai, although both names appear as BLΓAY in Juvaini's text.

[2] TWTAR. The Tut'ar of Grigor and the Tuthar of Kirakos. (Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 431.) He was the son of Mingqadur, the son of Bo'al. See Rashid-ad-Din ed. Blochet, 123 and 137, where his name appears in the corrupt form QWTAR. (On the various mis-spellings of the name in European authors see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 186.)

[3] QWLY. The Khul of Grigor and the Ghul or Ghuli of Kirakos. (Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 432.) He was the second son of Orda (Hordu). (Blochet, 99 and 137.)

[4] TKWDAR. The T'agudar of Grigor. 'Tegüder means "The Perfect".' (Cleaves, *op. cit.*, 427–8.) On his revolt against Hülegü's successor Abaqa see Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 69. (Spuler adopts the spelling Nikūdār.) Tegüder is not to be confused with his namesake, the brother and successor (1282–4) of Abaqa, better known by his Mohammedan name of Ahmad.

[5] The son of Chingiz-Khan's daughter Checheken and the Oirat Törelchi according to Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 119), but see above, p. 506, n. 2.

[6] Perhaps 'teams'.

[7] Lit. 'make *qorigh*'. Cf. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, 146: 'D'autre part, le seigneur nomade pouvait de son plein gré "interdire" certains emplacements de son *nutuq*, en faire des "lieux interdits" *(qoriq)*, réservés à la sépulture des membres du clan royal, ou aux chasses seigneuriales. L'accès de ces "lieux interdits" était, comme leur nom indique, absolument défendu aux personnes étrangères.'

and meadowland wherever the World-King's [8] troops might be expected to pass, from the * Qanghai [9] mountains between Qara-Qorum and Besh-Baligh; and all animals were forbidden to graze there lest the pastures might be harmed or the meadows injured. And all the garden-like mountains and plains were banned and prohibited and the teeth of cattle were prevented from browsing thereon. And in all the countries from Turkestan to Khorasan and uttermost Rum and Georgia grass fell into the category of '*but to this tree come not nigh*',[10] so much so that whoever fed a blade of it to his beasts was obliged to forfeit them; until, in truth, grass *(giyāh)* became sin *(gunāh)* and of verdure *(sabzī)* there was satiety *(sīrī)*.[11] The *elchis* then departed in order to remove themselves, consisting as they did of a whole army, from the meadows and pastures to places through which the King's troops would not pass. As for Baichu and [94] the armies of Chormaghun [they were ordered] to proceed to Rum.

As for the provisioning of the troops orders were given that all the lands should provide one *taghar*,[12] i.e. 100 maunds, of flour and 50 maunds, i.e. one skin, of wine for each man. And the emirs and local rulers, whoever they were, began to prepare provisions *('ulūfa)* and get together *tuzghu* or offerings of food; and they set down their offerings at every stage [of the army's advance]. At the same time the Mongol and Moslem

[8] *pādshāh-i-jahān*, which I translate 'World-Emperor' when it refers to the Great Khan. Here Hülegü is meant.

[9] I.e. the Khangai range (Qangqai in the *Secret History*, § 194). I read QNΓAY for the TY'AE of the text. The same form occurs below, III, 277 (ii, 724), where D, the MS. used by d'Ohsson, has TN'AT: d'Ohsson reads *Toungat* in both cases. On these '*Tungat* mountains' Bretschneider, I, 114, n. 282, comments as follows: 'The name has some resemblance to *Tangnu*, which is the name of a mountain chain in North-Western Mongolia, stretching parallel with the *Khangai* range, and north and north-east of it. It would seem, however, that here by Tungat the Khangai itself is meant.'

[10] Koran, ii, 33. God is speaking to Adam and Eve.

[11] In the Arabic script *giyāh* and *gunāh*, *sabzī* and *sīrī* are identical in appearance except for the diacritical points. Juvaini is much addicted to this kind of *visual* pun.

[12] A well-known dry measure equivalent to 675 pounds avoirdupois. See Minorsky, *A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu*, 948.

emirs brought herds of mares [13] and each in turn manufactured *qumiz* until the troops passed on to another emir. And the route along which it was calculated that the World-King would pass was cleared, parasang by parasang, of thorns and boulders; and bridges were built over the rivers and streams and boats held in readiness at the ferries.

And at the report of his departure quiet and tranquillity took leave of the world: the rebellious slumbered not for fear of his might and fury while such as were *il* [14] reposed not from the preparation of troops, arms and provisions.

When the princes and *noyans* had been appointed and the troops selected from the thousands and hundreds, Ked-Buqa, who held the office of *bavurchi*,[15] set off in advance. [95] And now the spring of the year 650/1252–3 [16] had burst from the bud of winter. The face of the earth from the multitudinous colours of the herbs was like a peacock's feather; the world in pleasantness became a rose-bed; the gardens were fresh and smiling from exceeding moisture and verdancy; the ponds after being frozen and dry were brimful and freely flowing; the flowers shone brightly and the clouds scattered pearls; the nightingales sang paeans at the table of the rose-garden; and old men became young again from sniffing the scents and perfumes of the blooms.

Hülegü prepared feasts to celebrate his leave-taking and betook himself to the *ordu* of the World-Emperor. Arigh Böke arrived from the opposite direction, and all the princes and relatives who were in that vicinity were gathered together like the Pleiades at the Court of Qara-Qorum. Each in turn gave a feast, and they cast the die of desire upon the board of revelry, draining goblets

[13] Or perhaps 'mares from their herds'.

[14] The Mongol word *il* occurs frequently in the phrase *il shudan* 'to become *il*', which I have usually translated by 'to surrender' or 'to tender submission'. *il* means 'obedient', 'submissive', 'at peace', and stands in opposition to *bulgha* 'rebellious', 'at war'. See Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté* [126]–[127], Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 454 and 492–3.

[15] See above, p. 596, n. 152.

[16] 650 A.H. ended on the 2nd March, 1253, and it is presumably the spring of this latter year that is meant.

(jāmbā) and donning garments *(jāmabā)* of one colour, at the same time not neglecting important affairs.

At the end of a week, when he decided to return to his own *ordu*, the World-ruling Emperor, in accordance with his Heaven-like magnanimity, commanded that the stores of jewels, coin and clothing should be spread [on the ground] and choice [17] mounts and beasts of burden withdrawn from the herds; and sent separately to Hülegü, [96] his wives and sons each his share, so that the earth was weighted down by supporting it all and the world made light.[18] And the Emperor likewise honoured with presents the emirs and *noyans* that accompanied him as also all the troops that were in attendance. And on Saturday the 2nd of Rabiʿ I, 651 [2nd [19] of May, 1253], Hülegü mounted the steed of honour and power and turned the reins of homecoming.

Upon alighting at his own *ordu* he remained there for a while arranging his affairs and seeing to the concerns of his men until the heat of the air had abated somewhat. During this time the princes came to bid him farewell and brought offerings of food. Prince Hülegü dismissed each of them with gifts and presents proportionate to his rank. Finally on the 24th of Shaʿban, 658 [19th of October, 1253], with an ascendant which was the East of felicity he set out from the seat of fortune, his own *ordu*, Triumph in front of him crying '*Make way!*', Victory running on the right and left and Conquest following behind.

Jumghar [20] Oghul, who [97] because of his mother,[21] who was senior to the other wives, [was of superior rank,] he appointed his deputy and placed over the *ordu* and army. And of his

[17] Reading *guzīda* with O for the *guzīn* KLHA of the text.

[18] *sabuk-sār*. Perhaps 'light of heart'.

[19] The 2nd May, 1253, was actually a Friday.

[20] JWMΓAR. In Rashid-ad-Din Jumqur (JWMQWR, Quatremère, 97) and Jumghur (JWMΓWR, Blochet, 413). He was Hülegü's second son. In the struggle between Qubilai and Arigh Böke he sided with the latter. He died *circa* 662/1263–4. (Quatremère, 96–100, Blochet, *loc. cit.*)

[21] According to Rashid-ad-Din (Quatremère, 96) her name was Köpek Khatun and she was the daughter of Princess Checheken and the Oirat Törelchi. However, elsewhere, in his chapter on the Oirat (Khetagurov, 119) Rashid-ad-Din mentions only two daughters of this marriage, a wife of Arigh Böke and Orqïna, the wife of Qara-Hülegü.

elder sons he chose Abaqa [22] and Yashmut [23] to accompany him. The armies now set out from wherever they were stationed. And from dread of the report thereof the mountains began to quake and the hearts of kings to tremble. The King proceeded very slowly, Balaghai and Tutar going on in advance and the others hastening forward on the right and left. They travelled alternately by the summer and winter routes.[24] When they came to the region of Almaligh the ladies of Ulugh-Ef and Orqina [25] Khatun came out to welcome them and gave feasts [in their honour].

When the Royal banners had passed through that region the Supreme Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-a'ẓam)* Mas'ud Beg and the emirs of Transoxiana joined his train. The summer of 652/1254 they passed in mountain pastures *(yailagh)*, setting out again when the violence of the sun's heat [98] had abated, and in Sha'ban, 653 [September–October, 1255] they encamped in the meadows of Kan-i-Gul [26] at the gates of Samarqand. The Minister Mas'ud Beg erected a tent of *nasij*,[27] of which the covering was of white felt, and for nearly forty days they remained in that neighbourhood with constant revelry and merrymaking. In the midst of all this, such being the wont of the unkind Heavens, his brother Sübetei Oghul passed away and there came news from beyond of his other brother's [28] death. Because of these two calamities he was sorely grieved and became extremely pensive.

When that month, which was Ramazan [October–November], was over, on the 1st of Shavval [3rd of November] they made *süyürmishi* [29] according to their custom and began to rejoice and revel once again. At this juncture Muhammad son of

[22] Hülegü's eldest son and first successor (1265–82). See Spuler, *op. cit.*, 67–77.

[23] YŠMT. His name is of Persian origin (Jamshīd). See Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes*, 92.

[24] *va dar rāh-i-tābistān va zamistān bi-tadrīj ḥarakat mī kardand.*

[25] See above, i, 274, n. 7.

[26] 'The Rose-Mine.'

[27] See above, i, 218, n. 34.

[28] Which brother? It could be either Böchek or Sögetü.

[29] Apparently 'feasting and revelry'.

* Miqdat [30] came forward to welcome the King in advance of [99] all his peers and equals and was distinguished amongst mankind by many marks of favour and honour.

Upon leaving that spot they did not draw rein till they came to Kish. At this stage the Emir Arghun and most of the chief men of Khorasan reached them and offered their presents. Here they remained a month and then beat the drum of departure and set out again with the intention of crossing [the Oxus]. Now at the time when the royal train set out from the summer pastures *(yailagh)* orders had been given that all the boats should be seized together with the boatmen and bridges built with the boats, so that when the King's train arrived the forces *(ḥasham)* crossed without any difficulty. The King took pity on them and abolished the toll that used to be exacted from boats in crossing, and when that toll was removed a load was taken off the hearts of all who crossed the river. [100]

When the army had crossed the King went for a ride along the banks. It happened that there were many tigers [31] in the woods there. He ordered the troops to station themselves in a circle and form a *nerge*. The horses being frightened of the tigers they mounted Bactrian camels in rut [32] and ten tigers of the meadow were bagged by the tigers of the battle-field, who

[30] MQDAT. As M.Q. points out, the parallel passage in Rashid-ad-Din (Quatremère, 148) makes it quite clear that by Muhammad must be meant Shams-ad-Dīn Muhammad, the founder (1245-78) of the Kart dynasty of Herat, on which see above, i, 121 and n. 20, also Spuler, *op. cit.*, 155–7. As for *Miqdāt, M.Q. was unable to identify the name of which it is a corruption. The authorities either do not mention Shams-ad-Dīn's father at all, stating simply that he succeeded his maternal grandfather, Rukn-ad-Dīn Abū-Bakr b. Tāj-ad-Dīn 'Uṣmān Marghānī; or else they state that this latter person was in fact his father. Unfortunately Rukn-ad-Dīn's personal name, as distinct from his *laqab* or title (Rukn-ad-Din) and his patronymic (Abu-Bakr), is nowhere recorded, so that even if he was Shams-ad-Dīn's father (as in the opinion of Spuler, *loc. cit.*, he was) we cannot ascertain whether his name bore any resemblance to Miqdat.

[31] Even in the nineteenth century the Russians found tigers along the Oxus. (V.M.) On the ambiguity of the word *shīr* (*shēr*), which means both 'lion' and 'tiger', see above, i, 257, n. 30.

[32] *mast*, the Anglo-Indian *must*. The basic meaning of the word is 'drunk', and this has misled d'Ohsson, III, 140, to speak of 'des chameaux qu'on avait eu soin d'enivrer'!

made the story of Sultan Mas'ud,[33] the son of Mahmud, a mere fable, where the poet says:

> *Whoever bags eight lions in one charge, mere humans*
> *are nothing to him.*[34]

The next day they departed from thence and encamped in the meadows of Shafurqan [35] not intending to remain there long. However in the day of the *'id-i-azha* [36] it began to snow and for seven days and nights the clouds did not disperse from that region. And that winter was long-drawn-out and the chill of the air and the violence of the cold were such that all of the climes were like '*the lands of snow*',[37] and from the violence of the cold many of the animals perished. Two or three lines which I had written to my father *(may he rest in peace!)* from the great *ordu* in Qara-Qorum were appropriate to the situation:

> *And the wind has pitched over our heads tents of snow*
> *without ropes or poles.*
> *Its arrows penetrate our clothes like an arrow shot by*
> *a person of great bulk.*
> [101] *And if her secret lover embraced a damsel with a mole upon*
> *her face it would show them both as one from the severity*
> *of the cold.*
> *And the saliva would have frozen in their mouths but for the*
> *heat of the fire of desire in their livers.*

And in this halting-place the Emir Arghun set up a large tent of fine linen embroidered with delicate embroideries,[38] with gold and silver plate in keeping with it; and he performed many services. Then, at the King's command he set out for the Court of Mengü Qa'an after appointing his son Kerei [39] Malik with

[33] The Ghaznavid (1030–40).

[34] Abu-Sahl in a poem in praise of Sultan Mas'ud of Ghazna in which he describes how the latter killed eight lions in one day. (M.Q.) Here too tigers are probably meant.

[35] Shafūrqān or Shabūrqān is the modern Shibarkhan in Northern Afghanistan (53 miles west of Balkh).

[36] The *'id-i-azhā* (in Arabic *'id-al-adhā*) or Festival of Sacrifice is celebrated on the 10th Zul-Hijja, which in this case would have fallen on the 10th January, 1256.

[37] Presumably the Arctic regions. [38] Or 'pictures'. [39] KRAY.

Ahmad Bitikchi and the writer of these histories to administer the affairs of Khorasan and Iraq in the King's service.

And when the dawn of the day of spring appeared out of the long night of winter, and the verdure of blooms *(bahār)* and flowers frothed at the lips of the grassy plain, and the vernal season decked out the lands, and the world donned seven-coloured brocade, and the garden sucked the breast of the clouds, and this quatrain, composed in the springtime of life, became apposite:

> Since Spring has prepared the feast of beauty,
> And the nightingale in joyfulness has taken the road to its mate,
> [102] Appear, O sunrise, and give gladly to-day
> Under the shadow of the willow the sun of wine,[40]

and the animals had recovered their strength, orders were then given for the fastening of banners and standards [to lances] and the massing of the troops for the purpose of making holy war and uprooting the castles of the Heresy. And all the forces in that region, whether Turks or Taziks, put themselves in readiness.

Since the town of Tun [41] had apparently not yet been humbled and still persisted in its former benightedness Hülegü first of all proceeded thither, and at the beginning of Rabi' I [the end of March to the beginning of April, 1256] under a fortunate ascendant he loaded the steeds of Victory and Triumph with the burden of his desire. Upon his reaching the district of Zava and Khaf the heavy cloud of an incident cast its shadow. He deputed Köke-Ilgei,[42] Ked-Buqa and the other emirs [to deal with the matter]. When they arrived the rabble *(runūd)* of that place put up some resistance until on the seventh day the army penetrated the inner town *(ḥiṣār)* and razed its walls to the ground. They drove all the men and women out into the open country

[40] The second two lines are translated according to the text of G.

[41] Tūn (now known as Firdaus) is the first element of Marco Polo's Tunocain. See above, i, 314, n. 97.

[42] KWKA AYLKAY. So in A. B, D and H have KWKA AYLKA, i.e. Köke-Ilge, as has also Rashid-ad-Din ed. Quatremère. *köke* in Mongol means 'blue': on the second element of the name see Pelliot–Hambis, *op. cit.*, 331–2.

and spared no one over ten years of age [103] except the youn women. And returning from thence in triumph to the Wor King they then proceeded towards Tus.

In Rabiʻ II [April–May] they pitched a tent of *nasij* in Jin al-Fuqara near Tus at the gate of a garden that had been l out by the Emir Arghun, and Jinh-al-Fuqara became rendezvous of emirs.[43] That tent was one which the Worl Emperor Mengü Qa'an had ordered the Emir Arghun to prep for his brother. In obedience to the Emperor's command master craftsmen had been called together and consulted, and the end it had been decided that the tent should be made o single sheet of cloth with two surfaces. And in executing t weaving and dyeing [44] of it they had surpassed the art of t craftsmen of Sanʻa: [104] the back and front were unifor *(hama-rūi)* and the inside and outside in the exact corresponder of the colours and designs complemented one another like t simple-hearted. The teeth of the scissors had been blunted wi the cutting of it. That gilded cupola and heaven-like tent, t disc of the sun, lost its brightness out of jealousy of the tru of this tent, and the resplendent full moon wore a sulky expre sion because of its roundness. For a few days they feasted a revelled here, and the access of mirth and joy to their brea was unrestricted. Then the King took his departure and wishi to rest his horses [encamped] in the garden of Mansuriya, whi after falling into ruin had been restored by the Emir Argh and was now such that its extreme beauty made it the envy all the gardens of the world. Of this spot Anvari says:

> Ha! O picture of Mansuriya, thou art a garden and a palace,
> or a paradise which God has sent into the world.

That day the wives of the Emir Arghun and the Minister 'I ad-Din Tahir offered *tuzghu* and gave a feast. The next d they departed from thence and remained some time in meadows of Radkan also. And from all the provinces, far a near, from Merv, [105] Yazir and Dihistan wine was draw

[43] Jinh-al-Fuqarā means 'the Quarter of the Poor'.
[44] Reading *nasj u ṣibghat*, as M.Q. suggests.

like water and unlimited provisions *('ulūfāt)* transported and deposited at every stage [along the route].

And departing from thence they came to Khabushan,[45] a town which had been derelict and in ruins from the first incursion of the Mongol army until that year, its buildings desolate and the *qanats* without water and no walls still standing save those of the Friday mosque. Now I had previously purchased a quarter of the town from the inhabitants. Having observed the King's interest and pleasure in restoring ruins I brought the case of Khabushan to his attention. He listened to my words and issued a *yarligh* for the repairing of the *qanats,* the erection of buildings, the establishment of a bazaar, the alleviation of the people's lot and their re-assembly in the town. All the expense of re-building he met with cash from the treasury so that no charge fell upon the people. All the *qanats* flowed once again after a [long] interruption and the inhabitants returned after years of exile bringing peasants and *qanat*-diggers from Quhistan whom they settled there. They built workshops and laid out a garden adjoining the Friday mosque. The mosque and the graveyard had been destroyed. The Supreme Minister *(ṣāḥib-i-a'ẓam)* Saif-ad-Din Aqa gave 3,000 gold dinars so that the work of rebuilding and restoration might begin.

Hülegü remained a month in [106] Ustu[46] and then departed after mountain and plain had become denuded of grass.

Meanwhile Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah sent his brother Shahanshah and the ministers of his kingdom to announce his submission and allegiance and his loyalty and devotion to the Court. When these words reached the royal ear, the King ordered them to be treated with honour and appointed *elchis* to go to Rukn-ad-Din. He also sent one of their people with the *elchis* and strongly urged that Rukn-ad-Din should present himself in person and that the castles should be destroyed. When that command reached Rukn-ad-Din, out of madness and youthfulness he sent a reply full of lies and slanders. It became clear to the King that his fortune was reversed and that civility and kindness

[45] The modern Quchan.

[46] Ustū is another form of Ustuvā, on which see above, i, 173, n. 10.

would effect nothing; and he set out from Khurqan [47] to make war upon him.

[VII]

OF THE ADVANCE OF THE WORLD-KING HÜLEGÜ TO CAPTURE THE CASTLES OF THE HERETICS

RUKN-AD-DIN took no warning from the coming and going of ambassadors and *elchis*. To meet the King's wishes he merely evacuated some five castles [107] which had no stores and were of no great strength and from the other castles wrenched out the gates and demolished the battlements *(sar-dīvār)*,[1] thinking he would avert his destined lot by trickery and deceit through foolish falsehoods and deceptions. '*Away, away with his predictions!*'[2]

[Setting out] therefore from Khurqan in the middle of Sha'ban [September, 1256] the King made his preparations to attack the castles and destroy the dwelling-places of Rukn-ad-Din; and he sent instructions to the armies in Iraq and elsewhere to hold themselves in readiness. The right wing under Buqa-Temür and Köke-Ilgei then proceeded by way of Mazandaran and the left wing under Tegüder Oghul and Ked-Buqa by way of Khuvar and Samnan. The princes Balaghai and Tutar and the armies of Iraq set out from the direction of Alamut and the King himself advanced [3] with men such as consider hardship a pleasant drink and take no heed of pain.

> They departed and the face of the world grew dark: the
> heavens were dazzled at [the sight of] Suhrab.[4]

And he again sent *elchis* in advance to say that he had put into effect his intention [108] to move forward against Rukn-ad-Din. The latter had added to his former crimes hollow excuses and

[47] Khurqān was situated 4 leagues from Bistam (Bustam) on the road to Astarabad. See le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 366.

[1] Reading the emendation in B (*va sar-dīvārhā bi-y-andākht*) for the *sar-dīvār pāidār* of the text. Cf. below, p. 714 and n. 7.

[2] Koran, xxiii, 38.

[3] *Sc.* in the centre, with the main body. (M.Q.)

[4] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 492, l. 966, with *havā* 'air' instead of *jahān* 'world'.

feeble evasions but if he would make his heart sincere again and come forward to meet the King, he would read the lesson: *What is past is past'* over his crimes, and cast the glance of forgiveness and condonation upon his offences, and show the teeth of assent in the face of his requests.

When the King's heaven-residing world-conquering parasol had triumphantly passed by Firuzkuh they sent back the *elchis* and set about demolishing the ramparts and walls. With the *elchis* there came the false-hearted vizier and luckless minister Kai-Qubad with all manner of lies and subterfuges. He undertook to demolish their castles and dwelling-places and asked that Rukn-ad-Din might be exempted from coming out for the space of one year and that the castles of Alamut, Lammasar[5] and Lal,[6] which were their ancient home, might be saved from destruction. Rukn-ad-Din would surrender the other castles and would carry out any order that was issued. He had sent a warrant *(parvāna)* for the governor *(muḥtasham)* of Girdkuh and the governor *(muḥtasham)* of the castles in Quhistan [109] to present themselves before the King. By the like blandishments Rukn-ad-Din thought that he could avert his destiny and that by such deceptions the vizier might reverse the inflexible will of Fate.

When the King's forces had reached the district of Qasran,[7] the castle of Shahdiz, which lay across their path, was invested by [troops under the command of] Ked-Buqa. They encompassed it on every side and captured that stronghold by storm after a day or two. They also took two or three other castles in that vicinity.

The King now sent *elchis* for the second time and ordered him to carry out his undertaking to come down. Again he sent them back with excuses, wishing to secure postponement [of any action] and awaiting the fall of the autumn snows. He

[5] On Lammasar see below, p. 679, n. 49.

[6] Lāl. G has Alān. There is no mention of this castle in the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din (Quatremère, 198).

[7] Qaṣrān was a district near Ray. See le Strange, *op. cit.*, 216, Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 59.

asked for a guarantee that his castles would not be invested by the army and that there would be no fighting or plundering. He agreed to send his son together with 300 men to serve as a levy *(ḥashar)* and to destroy all his castles.

The King granted his request and halted at 'Abbasabad near Ray to await the fulfilment of his pledge; and the troops investing the castles raised the siege. At the appointed time Rukn-ad-Din sent a child of seven or eight, [110] who he said was his son, together with a number of his chief officials. Being a man of great discernment and sagacity the King perceived that this was a spurious son and that the establishment of his paternity required the production of proof. He questioned Shahanshah and Rukn-ad-Din's ministers whom he had sent previously. Some whose hearts were tainted with the darkness of the Heresy did not tell the truth, but the King shrewdly guessed what the state of affairs was. However, he feigned ignorance and having treated the child with honour and kindness gave him leave to return. Then departing from 'Abbasabad he encamped in Pishkil-Dara.[8]

Day after day Rukn-ad-Din [111] continued to intercede for the return of his brother, the vizier and the others, and his followers, being evil companions, kept [leading him astray] from the true path of submission and casting him into the wilderness of error. When the false son returned to his luckless father the latter sent another brother, Shiran-Shah, with 300 men to serve as a levy, at the time it had been agreed that they should be sent after the return of that accursed wretch, his spurious son. He hoped that this pretence would induce the King's army to turn back. And he kept asking for the return of his brother and the ministers whom he had sent previously and begging to be excused from coming out in person until the winter had changed into spring and fear and dread had been dismissed from his heart.

The King sent back his brother Shahanshah and bade him

[8] I have adopted the emendation in B in preference to the BYSKLH DZ (? Pishkila-Diz) of the text. On the district of Pishkil-Dara (Pushkil-Dara) to the south-west of Talaqan and east of Qazvin, see M.Q., III, 428-9.

strengthen his castles and prepare for war, unless he presented himself within five days. When the *elchi* returned he brought the same threadbare excuse, and the King realized that there was evil in Rukn-ad-Din's head and guile in his faith. He determined to put an end to him, and the armies stationed all round Rukn-ad-Din were ordered to advance each from its *nerge* in a parallel line. And on the 10th of Shavval, 654 [31st of October, 1256] he set out from Pishkil-Dara, [112] having first given orders that all those accursed wretches, the officials and soldiers [9] of Rukn-ad-Din, who had been detained in Jamalabad near Qazvin, should be secretly dispatched to hell. Ever since that time it has been a proverbial saying in Qazvin, when someone has been killed, that he has been 'sent to Jamalabad'.

Elchis now departed to all the lands to procure and dispatch *taghars* of flour for the provisioning of the army and also a great number of animals both for slaughter and for use as mounts. The provisions had to be transported [over an area stretching] from Armenia to Yezd and from the land of the Kurds to Jurjan and the beasts belonging to the Divan being insufficient for the purpose the order was given that the animals of any person whatsoever, whether noble or base, Turk and Tazik, should be seized as *ulaghs* and the *taghars* thus dispatched.

On the 18th of that month [8th of November, 1256] the heaven-residing parasol was opened out on a hilltop facing Maimun-Diz [10] from the North, and the next day the King rode all round it in order to survey and examine the points most suitable for making an attack. Now Maimun-Diz was a castle such as perhaps Abul-'Ala was describing when he says:

[113] *Men cannot reach its highest peaks, nor can the birds,*
not even the vulture and the eagle.
And the wishes of a seeker have not desired it, and its
dogs have barked only at the stars. [11]

[9] Presumably the 300 men sent with Shiran-Shah.

[10] On the castle of Maimūn-Diz see below, p. 627.

[11] In fact these verses are not by any Abul-'Alā but by the Umayyad poet Ka'b b. Ma'dan al-Ashqari. They describe the capture of the castle of Nīzak in Badghis by Yazid b. Muhallab in the year 84/703-4. (M.Q.)

The King therefore consulted with the princes, *noyans* and pillars of state as to whether they should lay siege to the castle or turn back and wait till the coming year. Since it was winter and it was difficult to obtain provisions (*'ulūfa*) and impossible to procure fodder and their animals in consequence were lean, most of the emirs were in favour of turning back. Of the kinsmen Buqa-Temür, of the ministers the Emir Saif-ad-Din, who was the strongest pillar, and of the emirs Ked-Buqa and Tayir would hear only of a siege.[12] And since they spoke after the King's own heart he too would hear of no other counsel and sent instructions to all the armies to prepare for a siege and make ready for battle. And when Rukn-ad-Din saw this he came to offer submission and descended from the height. Had it been otherwise, the provinces of the kingdom would have been exhausted by the transport of *taghars* and food and drink. And since the further history of Rukn-ad-Din has been given in the *fath-nama* appended to this chapter, it would be redundant to repeat it here, and we shall say no more on that subject.

[114] Copy of the *fath-nama* of Alamut

Praise be to God, Who keepeth His promise, and aideth His servant and strengtheneth His host, and routeth the sects, He alone! And blessings and peace upon the Prophet after whom there shall be no prophet!

From the time when the precedent established by the firm command of *' "Be", and it is '*[13] first placed the keys of the lands of the Habitable Quarter in due order in the hands of the might of the Sultans of the age and powerful Khaqans, and in each era, in accordance with its command and desire, produced from the unseen world a leader of men, and, in East and West, embroidered the garment of each such leader's life with victories, whereof the scent perfumed the nostrils of all creation, as hath been written down in the bellies of books and proclaimed from the backs of pulpits; until this present day when the surface of the earth has been adorned by the all-embracing justice and perfect wisdom of the Khan of Khans, the source of the blessings

[12] Lit. 'restricted their speech to a siege'. [13] Koran, ii, 111.

of peace and security, the Commander of the Earth and the Age, the one raised up by the wondrous might of the Merciful, Mengü Qa'an, and the lights of clemency and benignity have become visible on the horizon of equity and righteousness: there has reached no ear and has been beheld by no eye so manifest a victory. It is indeed the preamble to '*Verily, We have won for thee an undoubted victory*',[14] for God *(great is His glory and universal His bounty!)* made it possible through the action and resolve, and caused the knot of it to be untied by the perspicacious counsel, of the Blessed King and Just Monarch—

> He whose sword is kept strong by religion has the pomp and manner of an Emperor—

Hülegü, the Buraq of whose lofty ambition touches the head of the Pleiades while the lightning of his considered intention tramples on the face of the earth. [115] And because God Almighty hath said: '*Recollect God's favour upon you,*'[15] the meanest slave of his daily-increasing fortune, 'Ata-Malik b. Muhammad al-Juvaini, the *mustaufi*, wishes to send these good tidings to all the climes of the world, far and near, and to utter the cry which the tongue of the Faith has caused to reach the souls of all orthodox Believers:

> *The Truth has appeared with firm pillars, with a rising star and a lofty structure,*
> *While the wrongdoers and the wicked, the aberrant and the rebellious, have stretched out their hands after evil.*

Of the details of these events, which will remain for ever on the face of the years, he will give some brief description and reduce a line or two to writing, causing it to reach the ears of high and low, the great and the noble, from the farthermost East to uttermost Syria *(may God let them hear the glad tidings!)* that ever since that *huma*, the heaven-residing parasol of the World-Conquering King, Hülegü, had cast its auspicious shadow over these regions and the pennants of the victory-proclaiming standards had been unfurled over these lands and countries, [116] he had followed the divine law which says: '*We never punished until we had first*

[14] Koran, xlviii, 1.

[15] *Ibid.*, v, 14.

sent an apostle' [16] and had dispatched messenger after messenger to Rukn-ad-Din both to encourage and to warn him, hoping that by politeness and civility he might [be induced to] come forward and make obedience and submission a shelter from the vicissitudes of Fortune. However, on each occasion because of his youthfulness he sent a reply which was wide of the mark of truth and remote from the direction of righteousness, its apparent differing from its real meaning and his words being inconsistent with his deeds. It was therefore decided by the King's judgement, which radiates like the sun and is the mirror of the essence of things and the elixir of wisdom, to overthrow the castles of Rukn-ad-Din, which rubbed horns with the Horn of the Bull,[17] whose crags *(kamar)* from their great elevation placed their hands on the girdle *(kamar)* of Orion and which vied for glory with the palaces of Saturn; [to overthrow these castles] with men who in strife and battle were like Anaretae [18] (if the Sun seeks their company like the Moon he begins to travel by night; and if Mars encounters their arrows like Venus he purchases peace); [19] to break these people's backs [117] which in their carelessness they had leant against mountains; to make the zenith of Rukn-ad-Din's glory the nadir of abasement and the degree of exaltation the limit of depression; and to cause his ancestral home, i.e. Maimun-Diz, in which he had ignorantly imagined his strength to lie, to be his bane and ruin.

At the prompting of Prosperity and Good Fortune, in the middle of Shavval of the year 654 [November, 1256], he dispatched *elchis* to the emirs and *noyans* who were stationed round the castles at a distance, like a belt round the waist of a wasp; and he ordered each to advance from his station. Suqunchaq [20]

[16] Koran, xvii, 16.

[17] The star ξ or the star ν Tauri.

[18] *akhtarān-i-qāṭi'*. See above, p. 362, n. 1.

[19] A good example of *tanāsub*. The mention of Saturn is the occasion for the introduction of the remaining six planets. Of these only the Sun, the Moon, Mars and Venus appear in the Translation, but *tīr* ('arrows') is Mercury and *mushtarī* ('purchases') Jupiter.

[20] SQNJQ. Suqunchaq, Sughunchaq or Sunchaq, the future governor of Mesopotamia and Fars, belonged to the Süldüs tribe. He was a great-grandson of the Sorqan Shira who befriended Chingiz-Khan at the time of his captivity

Noyan and Tamgha[21] he sent on in advance to reconnoitre with an army of Turks who had bidden farewell to sleep and rest and made a meal of the flashing sword. Behind them the Monarch himself, blessed in action and in counsel, the God-aided King of Kings, moved forward with an army in full array, of such great numbers that Gog and Magog themselves would have been destroyed by the waves of its battalions.[22] The wings were filled with warlike youths, who in dark nights with a thrust of the spear make Simak[23] the food of the fish of the sea and the Crab the fish of the Lion of the heavens—

Those who said, when they emerged with al-Qana from the vortex of death: 'Go back into the thick of it.'[24]

—[118] archers each of whose arrows make Sagittarius the bane of Mercury and turn the sons of the saddle and Rakhsh into 'Daughters of the Bier.'[25] And the centre he adorned with men of experience who had tasted the sweet and bitter of life, men who consider the day of battle the wedding-night, and connect the blades of flashing swords with the cheeks of white-skinned women, and deem the pricks of lances to be the kisses of beautiful maidens.[26]

They set out[27] by way of Talaqan with the speed of the wind, like a flood in their onrush and like a flame of fire in their ascent; and their horses' hooves kicked dust into the eyes of Time. And on the very day of departure they came midway upon a mountain ram. Some of the young men, eager for fame, at once filled it with their arrows. The King took this as an omen and knew that the butting ram would be a victim in the

amongst the Tayichi'üt. See M.Q., III, 303-4. The same name was borne by a grandson of Muqali. See Pelliot-Hambis, *Campagnes*, 371.

[21] TMΓA. Perhaps Tamagha.

[22] Reading *mauj-i-fauj* with O.

[23] Either α Virginis (*Spica*) or α Boötis (*Arcturus*).

[24] 'Amr al-Qanā, a Kharijite poet quoted in the *Hamasa*. (M.Q.)

[25] I.e. scattered like the *banāt-an-na'sh*, the constellation of the Bear. Cf. our Benetnasch (η Ursae Majoris). In this passage the *tanāsub* is concerned with constellations, zodiacal and other.

[26] Cf. above, I, 82, for which this passage may have served as a model.

[27] Reading *ravān shudand* with O.

oven of calamity and the faith of Hasan-i-Sabbah would be without followers.[28]

That day [119] the World-King's forces encamped in the district of Talaqan and he ordered the armies of Kerman and Yezd to besiege the local castles such as Aluh-Nishin, Mansuriya and several others; and he strengthened the hand of these troops with a force of Mongols who were their mainstay (*mu'avval*).[29]

The next day when the bright-faced Sun thrust his head out of the collar of the horizon they beat the drum of departure and [advanced] by way of Hazar-Cham,[30] which was as twisted as the curls of a sweetheart, nay as narrow as the *sirat-i-qiyamat* [31] and as dark as the road to Hell. There was no room to place one's feet, how then could one go forward? And the chamois could not easily keep their footing, what then could men do? To tread on the level parts was no simple matter; on the rugged parts what could one do but come to grief? [120] [Yet] the King passed over and chose toil and pain rather than the road of ease. And the tongue of Destiny sang this song:

> Give ear to thyself, because the self is the soul of a world
> bound up in that dear soul which thou hast.

The next day the troops and squadrons arrived at the foot of the castle and at noon

> That parasol to which the heavens are inferior, [which]
> is a cloud shading the sun

was opened up on a hilltop opposite the castle.[32]

And from the direction of Ustundar,[33] which lay on the right, there came Buqa-Temür and Köke-Ilgei with armies all fire and

[28] In the original there are word-plays on *kīsh* 'faith' or 'quiver' and *qurbān* 'followers' or 'bow-case'.

[29] Introduced for the sake of the visual pun with *mughūl* (*moghol*) 'Mongols'.

[30] Hazār-Cham is a well-known pass in the Elburz some 80–90 miles north-west of Tehran between the district of Talaqan on the west, Kalar Dasht and Kujur on the east and Tunakabun on the north. (M.Q.)

[31] The bridge from this world into Paradise, more slender than a hair and sharper than a sword.

[32] I.e. Maimūn-Diz.

[33] I.e. Rustamdār in Mazandaran. See above, p. 385, n. 73.

fury along steep roads as crooked as the covenant of the wicked [121], with hilltops twisted around them, full of defiles. And from Alamut, which lay on the left, came the princes Balaghai and Tutar with a great body of men, all clamouring for vengeance. And behind them came Ked-Buqa Noyan with a host like a mountain of iron. The valleys and mountains billowed with the great masses of men. The hills which had held their heads so high and had such strong hearts [122] now lay trampled with broken necks under the hooves of horses and camels. And from the din of the braying of those camels and the noise of pipe and kettle-drum the ears of the world were deafened, and from the neighing of the horses and the flashing of the lances the hearts [34] and eyes of the foe were blinded. *'For God's behest is a fixed decree.'* [35]

Thus in one day so many immeasurable armies were joined together to form around the said castle and town of heresy and iniquity a *nerge* whereof the blessing embraced both small and great. Now the history of that castle is as follows. At the time when that people were at the height of their power, his [36] father 'Ala-ad-Din, in accordance with [the words of Pharaoh:] *'"O Haman, build for me a tower that I may reach the avenues, the avenues of the heavens,"'* [37] had instructed his officials and ministers to survey the heights and summits of those mountains for the space of 12 years [123] until they chose that lofty peak which confided secrets to the star Capella; and on its summit, which had a spring of water on its top *(dahan)* [38] and three others on its side, they began to build the castle of Maimun-Diz making the ramparts out of plaster and gravel *(? sang-i-rikhta)*. And from a parasang away they brought a stream like the Juy-i-Arziz [39] and caused the water to flow into the castle. And because of the extreme cold it was impossible for beasts to find a home or live in that place from the beginning of autumn till the middle

[34] I.e. they became *kūr-dil* 'blind-hearted', 'senseless', here perhaps 'panic-stricken'.

[35] Koran, xxxiii, 38.

[36] I.e. Rukn-ad-Din's.

[37] Koran, xl, 38–9.

[38] Lit. 'mouth'. Perhaps a reference to its crater-like shape?

[39] See above, i, 121, n. 15.

of spring. On this account Rukn-ad-Din thought it impossible for human beings to penetrate to the castle and lay siege to it, since the mountains intertwined and the very eagles shrank back from the passes whilst the game animals at the foot sought some other way around. Nay, because of its great elevation that lofty place applied to itself the words [of 'Ali]: *'The flood rusheth down from me, and the birds rise not up to me.'*

And now the inmates of the castle saw how a people numerous as ants had, snake-like, formed seven coils around it [124] and quickly contrived to make their abode upon hard rock. As in the *panja* [40] they had joined rank to rank and laid hand in hand. In the day-time as far as their sight could reach the people of Maimun-Diz could see nothing but men and standards, and at night, because of the great quantity of fires, they thought the earth a sky full of stars [and] a world full of swords and daggers, whereof neither middle nor edge was visible. For excess of grief each of them on the towers and walls mourned in his heart at the time of feasting. *'They shall say, "'Tis what the God of Mercy promised; and the Apostles spake the truth."'* [41]

However, the prudent King, though confident of his strength and power, wished to draw them into the net by the fairest of means without his army's having to suffer pain. He therefore dispatched an *elchi* to Rukn-ad-Din to announce the arrival of his standards; and he still sought to win him and his people over, saying that heretofore Rukn-ad-Din's best interests had been obscured to him by the evil suggestions of a group of *nasnas*,[42] and on account of the fewness of his years the eye of wisdom had not yet awakened from the slumber of neglect. If, however, before his ant-like people, thoughtless and improvident as they were, should be trampled underfoot—*'lest Solomon and his army crush you'*—he was, in accordance with the exigencies of the time, to substitute for the words *'enter your dwellings'* [43] the words *'come out of your abodes,'* and convert the injunction of

[40] A kind of dance. [41] Koran, xxxvi, 52. (Somewhat abridged.)

[42] See above, p. 529, n. 11.

[43] *'Till they reached the Valley of Ants. Said an ant, "O ye ants, enter your* dwellings, lest Solomon and his army crush you *and know it not."'* (Koran, xxvii, 18.)

Hasan-i-Sabbah: '*See to your castles!*' into '*See* [125] *that ye be parted therefrom!*", and come down from the castle, and not expose himself to danger because of the schemes of a band of wretches and their futile lies, but at the suggestion of Fortune speed from the whirlpools of calamities to the shore of salvation, the promises to spare him and his people were as valid as ever. nay they were more so. The King's magnanimity desired in all cases the pleasure of forgiveness and condonation.

From the castle he[44] sent a reply saying: 'As the saying is, the hyena is not in his hole, and he[44] can do nothing that might entail their destruction until he has news,'[45] that is to say: 'Rukn-ad-Din is absent and we cannot come out without his leave and permission.'

The *elchi* returned and the next day, when from the breast of night the milk of the dawn-break gushed forth and the world was in turmoil from the roaring of the thunder-voiced men and lions,[46] the King proceeded by the road on the left to the highest summit and having surveyed all the possibilities of entrance and egress and examined the various approaches returned to his encampment by the other route. On the next day, when the heralds of the heavenly Jamshid drew their glittering swords from the scabbard of the horizon and routed the black host of Night, with their morning draught [the Mongol army] struck the harp of war, [126] and with intent to rend the veil of their adversaries they prepared to do battle with mangonels and stones. And they cut down and trimmed for these mangonels trees which those people had tended and watered for many years past, not realizing what purpose they would serve or what fruit they would ultimately bear.

I teach him to shoot every day, and when his aim is sure
he will shoot me.[47]

[44] Apparently the commander of the castle.

[45] Of the hyena, i.e. Rukn-ad-Din.

[46] Reading *mardān u shirān-i ra'd-āvaz* with O.

[47] Attributed variously to Ma'n b. Aus, Mālik b. Fahm al-Azdi and 'Aqīl b. 'Ullafa. (M.Q.) Quoted in the *Gulistan* in the story of the wrestler and his pupil. See Arberry, *Kings and Beggars*, 62–3.

And during these days they placed a group of athletes at every *amaj*[48] to transport the heavy poles and pillars of the mangonels to the top of the hill.

The next day, when the lid of night was lifted from the oven of the earth and the loaf-like disc of the sun was pulled out of the paunch of the darkness, the King ordered his bodyguard to climb to the top of the highest peak and pitch the royal encampment there.

[127] *We ascended Daushan*[49] *with one who was stronger than it and more steadfast when the lances were intertwined,*
With an army billowing with horsemen until thou didst think the dry land a sea of arms.[50]

Meanwhile, the garrison of the castle, having prepared by night for battle and entrusted the towers of their heaven-reposing castle to fellow ruffians, began the engagement; they set up the poles of their mangonels and in the middle of Shavval [November, 1256] commenced a brisk discharge of stones.

Thou hast tied the rope and dost play boldly: 'tis well if in the end it do not miss.

And on this side also the young men were splitting hairs with lance-like arrows and themselves flinching before neither stone nor arrow. Arrows, which were the shaft of Doom discharged by the Angel of Death, were let fly against those wretches, passing like hail through the sieve-like clouds.

[128] The arrow passed through coats of mail as the wind of early dawn through the petals of flowers.

When the sun drew the shield of shadow in front of him they ceased fighting, but on the fourth day, which was the crisis of their disease and the proof of the testimony of truth, when dawn began to break, cries and shouts rose up, and on both sides they set foot upon the road of battle. From the towers bows sent

[48] *āmāj*: the 24th part of a parasang, i.e. about a sixth of a mile.

[49] According to Manini in his commentary on 'Utbi, Daushan or Dūshan is the name of a mountain. In the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr* the name appears in the form Jaushan or Jūshan. (M.Q.)

[50] Abu-Firas Hamdani. Quoted in the *Yatimat-ad-Dahr*. (M.Q.)

up swift-feathered shafts, and a *kaman-i-gav*,[51] which had been constructed by Khitayan craftsmen and had a range of 2,500 paces, was brought to bear on those fools, when no other remedy remained; and of the devil-like Heretics many soldiers were burnt by those meteoric shafts. From the castle also stones poured down like leaves, but no more than one person was hurt thereby.

Having that day experienced the force of the Mongols' arms they ceased fighting, and the garrison of the castle after the heat of war knocked [52] at the door of peace. And Rukn-ad-Din sent a messenger with a message to this effect: 'I had concealed myself hitherto because I was not certain of Your Majesty's arrival. The army will now cease fighting and to-day or to-morrow I will come out.' With such trickery did that idle babbler cast water upon the fire so that that day they lifted their skirts from battle. On the following day he sent another messenger and asked for a *yarligh* granting him safe-conduct. In compliance with their request the bearer of these good tidings [53] wrote a *yarligh*, the text of which together with other matters not suitable for inclusion here has been incorporated in *Juvaini's History of the World-Conqueror*.[54] This *yarligh* was sent to them and read out in public. Those who were not wanting in intelligence and valued their property and their lives rejoiced and exulted. And when the day drew to its close and light changed into darkness they promised he would come down the next day. When the morrow was born of dark Night and Rukn-ad-Din prepared to descend, some of the more fanatical *fida'is* went to every extreme in their opposition and would not allow him to go down. They even plotted to do away with those who had encouraged him to take that decision. Rukn-ad-Din again sent someone with the following message: 'Before hastening to present myself I had prepared gifts [for your acceptance], [130]

[51] *kamān-i-gāv*, lit. 'ox's bow'. Apparently a ballista, i.e. a magnified cross-bow which propelled, not stones like the mangonel, but javelins See Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, I, 137–8.

[52] Reading *kūftand*, as M.Q. suggests, for the *giriftand* of the text.

[53] I.e. Juvaini himself, who must have taken part in the negotiations.

[54] See above, i, 10, n. 19.

but most of my followers were angry and agreed together to make away with me before this plan was carried out. On this account my intention was frustrated.'

When these words reached the august ear of the Il-Khan [55] he gave no sign [56] at all of his inner displeasure. He said that it was best for Rukn-ad-Din to guard his own person; and dismissed the messenger.

During the coming and going of messengers suitable sites had been found for the erection of mangonels and the parts [57] had been easily fitted together. On the next day,

> When the sun rent that pitch-coloured veil and came out
> from behind it,[58]

[131] orders were given that all round the castle every man should engage [the enemy] in front of him and that every one, whoever he was, should advance and join battle with his opponents. And from the whole circumference of the castle, a distance of a parasang or more, the battle-cry was blended with its echo; and from the rolling of boulders hurled from above a trembling fell upon the limbs and members of the mountains. From the clashing together of the rocks the level ground between [59] with its core of hard stone became mere dust, and from the frequent assaults the collar [60] of the ninth sphere was rent open.

As for the mangonels that had been erected it was as though their poles were made of pine-trees a hundred years old (as for their fruit, '*their fruit is as it were the heads of Satans* [61]'); and with the first stone that sprang up from them the enemy's mangonel was broken and many were crushed under it. And great fear

[55] AYLXAN. Only in A. Interesting as the first mention of the title borne by Hülegü as the Mongol ruler of Persia. On this title of *il-khan* or *il-qan*, 'qan soumis', see Mostaert and Cleaves, *Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes*, 454. An alternative form, El-Khan, is represented by the Byzantine 'Ἐλχάνης and the Elghan of Vardan (149).

[56] Reading *zāhir na-shud* with B, D and E.

[57] *jarr-i-ālāt.* The meaning is not quite clear.

[58] *Shahnama* ed. Vullers, 472, l. 627.

[59] I take *ṣaḥarāt* to be a wrongly formed plural of *ṣaḥrā* 'plain'.

[60] *jaib*, which also means 'sine'.

[61] Koran, xxxvii, 3.

of the quarrels from the crossbows overcame them so that they were utterly distraught and everyone in the corner of a stone made a shield out of a veil,[62] whilst some who were standing on a tower crept in their fright like mice into a hole or fled like lizards into [132] crannies in the rocks. Some were left wounded and some lifeless and all that day they struggled but feebly and bestirred themselves like mere women. And when the heavens doffed the cap of the sun and the earth raised the curtain of night from the soil up to the Pleiades, they withdrew from battle.

On the next day, when the Light-King thrust his head through the collar of the East, the mighty warriors of the King's army set to once again, drawing their hands through the sleeve of Holy War and leaning the back of firmness against the mountain of resistance.

Rukn-ad-Din now saw that he would be left with nothing but regret. He had been seeking to gain time with 'perhaps' and 'peradventure' and sending back messengers with unacceptable excuses, and was still procrastinating in the same manner in the hope that the cotton-dressers of winter might make cotton of the King's army. But now he saw that it was an illusion to look for winter and snow. By the grace of God Almighty and the blessings of the King's daily-increasing fortune no day bore a surly expression; the screen of the chamberlain clouds did not preclude the sun; throughout the month of Dai[63] 'yesterday' was cold in comparison with 'to-day'; and 'to-morrow' finer than 'to-day'; any snow that had fallen at [133] the beginning of autumn before the arrival of so many rivals had not settled; and yet old men of a hundred could not remember that it had ever been possible to enter or leave those parts from the time the sun entered the first point of Libra on account of the coldness of the air, the falling of the dew and the great quantities of snow. In these circumstances Rukn-ad-Din saw no refuge save in surrendering and seeking shelter under

[62] I.e. they availed themselves of such inadequate cover as there was.

[63] Introduced for the sake of the word-play with *dī* 'yesterday'. Actually the solar month of Dai would be somewhat later—the 22nd December to the 21st January.

the shadow of the King's mercy; and in great fear and dread he resorted [64] to supplication and intercession.

> If thy fury leads its vanguard into the sea, the pearl
> becomes a pomegranate pip in the throat of the shell.

He dispatched a messenger and begged forgiveness for his past crimes. Accordingly the King's universal beneficence and utter compassion with the pen of power inscribed upon the pages of his and his people's actions the verse: '*Forgive with kindly forgiveness.*' [65]

Rukn-ad-Din first sent out the greater part of his notables and ministers together with his son, and the next day, after being distinguished with the promised attentions, he came down himself. And this auspicious day was the last of Shavval of that year [19th of November, 1256], the last of the prosperity of the People of the Mountains, nay rather the first of the glad tidings of the Glorious Lord.

Rukn-ad-Din descended from that high summit and elevated seat, whereon he had thought himself in a position to say:

> On this steep mountain of Jalnabad [66] I am, as it were,
> like the *faghfur* on his throne or Porus [67] on his,[68]

in an attitude of perplexity and stupor, stumbling along '*like some bewildered man whom the Satans have spell-bound in* [134] *the desert*'.[69] And to that familiar abode and well-known dwelling he bade farewell with a thousand pains and pangs, such a farewell that another meeting was unimaginable. Against the decree of Eternity Past of what avail the numbers of castles and the strength of fortifications? And when dynasties break up

[64] Reading *dād,* which M.Q. suggests and O actually has.

[65] Koran, xv, 85.

[66] Jalnābād—the spelling is uncertain—was a village at the foot of a mountain to which the author of the poem had retired. It was a dependency of the larger village of Kūbān (? Gūbān) in the Merv region. See M.Q., I, 235 and n. 3.

[67] The text has Bur, i.e. Pūr, for which 'Aufi's text (M.Q., I, 236) has Fūr. The reference is of course to the Indian opponent of Alexander the Great.

[68] One line of the poem has already been quoted. See above, i, 19 and n. 2.

[69] Koran, vi, 70.

how can thought and constancy of mind assist them ? One sign from Destiny annuls a hundred thousand misrepresentations by human planning, and half a nod from Fate brings to nought a million impostures by human deceit.

> *Fate playeth with mankind the game of the sticks with the ball,*
> *Or the game of the wind blowing (know thou !) a handful of millet.*
> *Fate is a hunter, and man is nought but a lark.*[70]

Having then hastened down with his family and followers Rukn-ad-Din sought refuge in the honour of kissing the threshold of the World-King's audience-place and, in an attitude of shame and contrition, confessed to the crimes and sins that he had committed in former days and in the preceding months. And since the King united in his person all the graces of kingly beneficence and all the wonders of royal kindness, he changed Rukn-ad-Din's feelings of loneliness and foreboding into a mood of ease and happiness and conveyed to his soul the glad tidings that he and his family who had been dead were alive again.

The next day, Rukn-ad-Din took his brothers, children, domestics and dependents and the inmates of the castle down on to the plain, [135] and every one of the soldiers came out with his goods and belongings. Then the Mongol army entered and began to destroy the buildings, brushing away the dust thereof with the broom of annihilation.[71]

Some of the more fanatical *fida'is,* sacrificing their lives in the cause of Error and Ignorance, leapt up again and seeking death with their hearts opened their wings like ants and flew up on to the dome of the stout palace, which was the seat of the rulers of the kingdom, nay of those who were ill-fated both spiritually and temporally. ('*And had not God willed the ant well He would not have caused wings to grow on it.*')[72] And here they stretched their arms to battle. On the part of the victorious army mangonels were directed against those purblind, crooked-hearted

[70] These lines have already been quoted. See above, i, 106 and n. 25.

[71] Adding *fanā* with C.

[72] Attributed to 'Abd-al-Hamid b. Yahya, the famous secretary, in a letter he wrote to Abu-Muslim regarding the Umayyad Caliph, Marwan II. (M.Q.)

unbelievers, and there was a brisk discharge of swiftly flying stones and arrows, like curses raining down upon Iblis.

For three days and nights they resisted in this manner, but on the fourth day the snake-like warriors and valiant stalwarts of the army scaled that lofty and majestic peak and utterly crushed those serpent-like miscreants and hacked the limbs of those wretches to pieces.

Apart from what was in the treasuries of Maimun-Diz Rukn-ad-Din had nothing of any value to offer as a present (*tikish-mishi*)[73] to the King [136] because at the time of the passing to and fro of the armies all his possessions had been distributed.[74] [The King] scattered it all as largesse and offered it to the Pillars of State and the troops of the kingdom.

And to the other castles in that valley (*rūd-khāna*) he sent his messengers and officers together with the *elchis* of the Il-Khan with orders for their destruction. And the King turned back, victorious and triumphant.

An *elchi* proceeded to the commander of Alamut to call on him to comply also and join his master in submission and allegiance. He hesitated to come down immediately and Prince Balaghai was despatched with a large force of men to lay siege to the castle. Balaghai led his army to the foot of Alamut and invested it on every side. The garrison, having cast a glance at the consequences of the matter and the vagaries of Fate, sent a messenger to sue for quarter and beg for favourable treatment. Rukn-ad-Din intervened on their behalf and the King was pleased to pass over their crimes. And at the end of Zul-Qa'da of that year [beginning of December, 1256] all the inmates of that seminary of iniquity[75] and nest of Satan came down with all their goods and belongings. Three days later the army climbed up to the castle and seized whatever those people had been unable to carry off. They quickly set fire to the various

[73] See above, p. 579, n. 87. [74] *pā-yi-tafriqa uftāda būd.*

[75] *bid'at*, strictly '(objectionable) innovation', 'heresy'. Cf. Lewis, *Some observations on the significance of Heresy in the History of Islam*, 52–3. Here it is chiefly intended as a term of abuse, although of course *bid'at* was specifically applied to the Nizari reform of Isma'ilism, the 'New Propaganda' of Hasan-i-Sabbah. See below, pp. 671 and 674, also Ivanow, *Kalami Pir*, xxviii and n. 1.

buildings and with the broom of destruction cast the dust thereof to the winds, levelling them with their foundations.

[137] To beware of death is not allowable on two days:
The day whereon is thy doom and the day whereon thy doom is not.
On the day whereon is thy doom to struggle is of no avail;
On the day whereon thy doom is not to fear it is not allowable.

On the night of their doom the decree [of God in the words:] '*We turned those cities upside down*'[76] became as clear as broad daylight to those people. And yet when the time was not yet ripe, during the reign of Hasan-i-Sabbah, that same castle of Alamut, whose garrison and resources were then but small, had during a period of 11 years been several times besieged by Muhammad, son of Malik-Shah, son of Alp-Arslan, (as may be read in books of history), and all to no avail.

Now to the wise man it is clear and certain that every beginning has an end and every perfection a falling-off, which, when the time comes, there is no power which can prevent. *The Apostle of God (God bless him and give him peace!) hath said: 'It is the right of God not to raise something without setting it down.'*

During this week Shams-ad-Din, the governor (*muhtasham*) of the castles of Quhistan, arrived and asked for a *yarligh*. He then set out with Rukn-ad-Din's officials in order that, beginning with Girdkuh, they might demolish all the castles, more than 50 of them, still remaining in the region of Quhistan, castles which raised their hands against the heavenly spheres and assaulted the constellations; and in demolishing them turn the wine of their imaginings [138] into a mirage.

And from Dailaman,[77] Ashkavar,[78] Tarum and Kharkam[79]

[76] Koran, xi, 84.

[77] Dailam or Dailamān, the home of the Dailamites, the Buyid dynasty in Western Persia (932–1055), was situated in what is now Eastern Gilan and Western Mazandaran. See Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 385 and 387–8.

[78] A district of Lahijan in Eastern Gilan.

[79] Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 124, mentions a village called Kharkām in the district of Hazar-Jarib.

came the governors *(kūtvālān)*. They were enrolled in the number of the King's obedient servants and having received *yarlighs* destroyed their castles.

And on the 1st of Zul-Hijja of that year [21st of December, 1256] the King (may he endure like the shining Sun !) turned back in the direction of the *ordu*. All the spoil that had been collected he distributed amongst great and small and the Turkish and Tazik troops. Rukn-ad-Din and all his relations, male and female, he sent to Qazvin, which he appointed as their place of residence. Meanwhile the King himself, victorious and triumphant (may he survive till the Last Trump !), arrived at the *ordu* at the end of the afore-mentioned month [middle of January, 1257] and, like the Sun, entered the house of exaltation.

> Into the heaven of his Court there came, victorious and
> triumphant from the hunting of a king, that sun of kings.

Whose eye has seen how with one movement the whole world has come to rest and what wise man's ear has heard how with one action Fortune, that unruly steed, has been broken to the rein *'like the lofty camel'* ? By this victory which is on a par with the conquest of Khaibar,[80]—and the obvious requires no exposition and seeing dispenses with hearing—the truth of God's secret intent by the rise of Chingiz-Khan has become clear and the benefit afforded by the passing of dominion and sovereignty to the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an [*139*] plain to see. By this famous victory the keys to the lands of the world are placed ready for use in the hands of the [Mongols'] power, and the bolts of the remaining countries of the climes, which because of Fate's malevolence still hesitated, are now undone. The good call it the key to victories and the wicked the lantern for the morning draught.[81] With these glad tidings the zephyr has begun to blow and the birds of the air to fly. And saints

[80] To the north-east of Medina, the site of a Jewish settlement conquered by Mohammed in the 7th year of the Flight.

[81] I.e. everyone interprets the victory according to his disposition; but the sentence is probably a proverbial saying and 'it' is the sun. (V M.)

felicitate the souls of the prophets and the living send congratulations to the dead.

A victory whereto the gates of the heavens open up,
and the earth appears in new striped clothes.[82]

What cure is this which has appeared in this world of growth and decay ? What joy and merriment is this which has shown itself in this vale of sorrows ?

That which I see, is it in wakefulness or sleep, O Lord ?[83]

In that breeding-ground of heresy in the Rudbar[84] of Alamut the home of the wicked adherents of Hasan-i-Sabbah and the evil followers of the practice of *ibaha,*[85] there remains not one stone of the foundations upon another. And in that flourishing abode of innovations *(bid'at)*[86] the Artist of Eternity Past wrote with the pen of violence upon the portico of each one['s dwelling] the verse: '*These their houses are empty ruins.*'[87] And in the market-place of those wretches' kingdom the muezzin Destiny has uttered the cry of '*Away then with the wicked people!*'[88] Their luckless womenfolk *(ḥaram u ḥarīm),* like their empty religion, have been utterly destroyed. And the gold of those crazy, double-dealing counterfeiters which [140] appeared to be unalloyed has proved to be base lead.

To-day, thanks to the glorious fortune of the World-Illuminating King, if an assassin *(kārd-zan)* still lingers in a corner he plies a woman's trade; wherever there is a *da'i*[89] there is an announcer of death; and every *rafiq*[90] has become a thrall. The propagators of Isma'ilism have fallen victims to the swordsmen

[82] See above, p. 589 and n. 127. [83] See above, i, 104 and n. 22.

[84] By Rūdbār was meant at this time the whole area of which the eastern part now forms the district of Alamut and the western that of Rudbar (known also as the Rudbar of Qazvin to distinguish it from the Rudbar of Gilan). See M.Q., III, 387 and 390.

[85] *ibāḥa,* i.e. 'deeming the unlawful lawful', 'libertinism'—the usual charge against the Isma'ilis.

[86] See above, p. 636, n. 75. [87] Koran, xxvii, 53.

[88] *Ibid.,* xxiii, 43. [89] *dā'ī,* i.e. Isma'ili propagandist or missionary.

[90] 'There seems little reason to suppose that the fidâ'is . . . formed a bottom rank in the Nizârî hierarchy below the *rafiqs* or *comrades,* as the bulk of the Nizârîs called themselves . . .' (Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* 82.)

of Islam. Their *maulana,* to whom they addressed the words: '*O God, our Protector (maulānā),*'[91]—*dust in their mouths!*—[141] (and yet '*the infidels have no protector*[92]') has become the serf of bastards. Their wise Imam, nay their lord of this world, of whom they believed that '*every day doth some new work employ him*',[93] is fallen like game into the net of Predestination. Their governors *(muḥtasham)* have lost their power and their rulers *(kiyā)* their honour. The greatest among them have become as vile as dogs. Every commander of a fortress has been deemed fit for the gallows and every warden of a castle has forfeited his head and his mace.[94] They have been degraded amongst mankind like the Jews and like the highways [142] are level with the dust. *God Almighty hath said:* '*Vileness and poverty were stamped upon them.*'[95] '*These, a curse awaiteth them.*'[96]

The kings of the Greeks and Franks, who turned pale for fear of these accursed ones, and paid them tribute, and were not ashamed of that ignominy, now enjoy sweet slumber. And all the inhabitants of the world, and in particular the Faithful, have been relieved of their evil machinations and unclean beliefs. Nay, the whole of mankind, high and low, noble and base, share in this rejoicing. And compared with these histories that of Rustam the son of Dastan has become but an ancient fable. The perception of all ideas is through this manifest victory, and the light of the world-illuminating day is adorned thereby. '*And the uttermost part of that impious people was cut off. All praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds!*'[97]

[91] *maulānā* 'our Lord' was the usual Isma'ili mode of addressing the Imam. The prefixing of the phrase 'O God' would appear to be a malicious addition on the part of Juvaini, even though 'the exalted imâm and the ineffable God seem confused to a greater extent even than their technical identity of name (to the degree that God has a name, it is the imâm's) ought to permit'. See Hodgson, *op. cit.,* 290.

[92] Koran, xlvii, 12.

[93] *Ibid.,* lv, 29.

[94] Presumably his badge of office.

[95] Koran, ii, 58.

[96] *Ibid.,* xiii, 25.

[97] *Ibid.,* vi, 45.

[VIII]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TENETS OF THE ISMAʿILIS OR BATINIS AS ALSO A HISTORY OF THAT SECT

In the early days of Islam, after the times of the Orthodox Caliphs [1] *(God's blessing upon them all!)*, there appeared amongst the Moslems a sect of people whose minds had no sympathy with Islam and in whose hearts there was rooted a fellow-feeling with the Magians [143]. In order to spread doubt and confusion they put about amongst the people a saying to the effect that in addition to the apparent *(ẓāhir)* meaning the Shariʿat bears also an inner *(bāṭin)* meaning which is concealed from the majority of mankind. And in support of these lies they adduced propositions that had come down to them from the Greek philosophers and in which they also incorporated several points from the tenets of the Magians. In order that the Moslems might not hold them in loathing but rather might take their part they disavowed those sects of the Believers who did not support the family of the Prophet *(God's blessings upon them!)*, especially at the time when Yazid [2] and his following *(upon whom be what they deserve!)* behaved with such open tyranny towards them [3] and none of the emirs and men of authority avenged them but acquiesced in the Caliphate of Yazid's family.

When the Kaisanis [4] seceded from the rest of the Shiʿa and gave their allegiance to Muhammad, son of the Hanafiya, these people also attached themselves to the Kaisanis and in expounding their esoteric *(bāṭin)* doctrines cited Muhammad as their authority. When Zaid, the son of ʿAli,[5] rose in rebellion, the party of Muhammad,[6] the son of ʿAli, the son of Husain *(God's*

[1] See above, p. 600, n. 168.

[2] The second of the Umayyad Caliphs (680–3).

[3] A reference to the death of Husain at Kerbela.

[4] These were the followers of Kaisān or Mukhtār, who rose in revolt in 685 preaching that Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya (a son of ʿAli by a Hanafi woman and therefore the half-brother of Hasan and Husain, his sons by Fatima, the Prophet's daughter) was the Messiah. See Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿīlism*, 25–7.

[5] I.e. ʿAli Zain-al-ʿĀbidīn, the Fourth Imam. The party of Zaid, the Zaidi Shīʿites, have maintained themselves to the present day in the Yemen.

[6] I.e. Zaid's brother, Muhammad-al-Bāqir, the Fifth Imam.

blessings upon them all!), deserted him. It was said of them: *rafadu Zaidan, ' They have abandoned Zaid,'* and from that time the name Rafidi clung to them. The Kaisanis now being weak in numbers these people [7] attached themselves to the Rafidis.

Now amongst their number was a descendant of [144] Ja'far Tayyar [8] called 'Abdallah [9] son of Mu'awiya. He accepted the call of the Rafidis and made a close study of that sect, establishing certain principles in support thereof. Among other things he worked out an astronomical table *(jadwal)* for the ascertaining of the beginnings of the Arabic months. There was, he said, no need to see the crescent moon. And he attributed the invention of that table, which was an ocean of error, to the Imams of the Prophet's Family *(may God be pleased with them!)* A one-night old moon could, he said, be seen by an Imam only; it was not perceptible to anyone else, because the beginnings of the months occurred before the new moon could be seen. The Rafidi party amongst the Shi'a disavowed him and a schism took place between them. The Jadwalis called themselves ' the people of esoteric knowledge ' and the rest of the Shi'a ' the exoterics '.

[Such was the position] until the days of Ja'far Sadiq [10] *(may God be pleased with him!)*. Ja'far had four sons, of whom the eldest, Isma'il, was through his mother the grandson of Hasan; the second, Musa, was the son of a slave girl; [145] the third, Muhammad Dibaj, is buried outside Jurjan near the grave of Da'i;[11] and the fourth, 'Abdallah, is known as Aftah (' the Flat-Headed '). The Shi'a say *(guftand)* that Ja'far was the sinless *(ma'ṣūm)* Imam. He designated [12] as his successor his son Isma'il. Afterwards Isma'il took to strong drink and

[7] I.e. the crypto-Magians.

[8] A son of Mohammed's uncle, Abū-Tālib, and consequently a brother of 'Ali.

[9] Ja'far's great-grandson. Rising in rebellion against the Umayyads he made himself master of Fars, Isfahan and Kerman but was then defeated in battle and fled to Khorasan. Here he was seized and imprisoned by Abu-Muslim, by whom he was ultimately (*circa* 103/721–2) put to death. See M.Q., III, 305–6, also Lewis, *op. cit.*, 28.

[10] Ja'far as-Ṣādiq, the Sixth Imam.

[11] Hasan b. Zaid, one of the 'Alid *sayyids* of Tabaristan (Mazandaran). See M.Q., III, 306–7.

[12] I.e. he transmitted the *nass* or heritage. See Lewis, *op. cit.*, 37–8.

Ja'far Sadiq expressed his disapproval thereof. There is a tradition that he said: 'Isma'il is not my son; he is a devil that has appeared in his shape.'[13] And according to another tradition he said: '*God had second thoughts about him*' and he therefore designated his second son, Musa, as his successor.

The afore-mentioned people who had transferred from the Kaisanis to the Rafidis now attached themselves to Isma'il and seceded from the Rafidis. The real designation, they said, was the first one and God cannot have second thoughts. Whoever had learnt the inner meaning of the Shari'at would suffer no ill consequences if he showed some neglect of the outer form. Whatever an Imam said or did was right: Isma'il suffered no hurt or loss from drinking wine. [146] They were called Isma'ilis and by that name were distinguished from the rest of the Shi'a.

Now Isma'il died before Ja'far Sadiq *(may God be pleased with him!)* in the year 145/762–3.[14] Ja'far summoned the governor of Medina on behalf of the 'Abbasid Caliphs *(God be pleased with them!)* and a great number of the notables and elders of Medina and showed them Isma'il['s body] which had been brought to the town upon men's backs after his death in the village of 'Uraid four parasangs away. He then drew up a document attesting his death and caused it to be signed by all that assembly, after which he buried Isma'il in Baqi'.[15]

Those who had attached themselves to Isma'il said that Isma'il was not dead and that his death had been feigned in order to deceive the people and protect him and his followers from attack. The rest of the Shi'a said that Ja'far Sadiq's purpose was to expose the falsehood of the doctrine of the people

[13] Lewis, *op. cit.*, 39, quotes a passage from a Shiite source to show that Isma'il had been involved 'in some seditious enterprise of which Ja'far strongly disapproved'. He thus accounts for the present passage, 'in which Juvainī attributes to Ja'far a phrase which, it must be admitted, is very much out of proportion if Ismā'il's sole offence was his lack of sobriety'.

[14] On the date of Isma'il's death see M.Q., III, 309, Lewis, *op. cit.*, 38.

[15] 'The Cemetery of Medina, called Baqī', lies to the westward of the town, and here is seen the grave of Ibrāhīm the Prophet's (only) son, also the graves of his daughters.' (Hamdallah tr. le Strange, 15.)

who had attached themselves to him. It would appear that both statements [147] were equally false, both parties attributing their own motives to this action, whereas Ja'far's purpose was to prove his innocence of the charge of claiming to be Imam by designating his sons as his successors, on which account the Caliphs had regarded him and his followers with disapproval.

When Ja'far *(may God be pleased with him!)* died[16] the generality of the Shi'a followed Musa. Some few who are called . . .[17] recognized Muhammad Dibaj as Imam. And a tiny minority, who are called Fathi, recognized 'Abdallah Aftah.

After a while the Caliphs sent to Medina and had Musa brought to Baghdad in order to intimidate *(ishkhāṣ)* him. There they imprisoned him and he died in prison. The Shi'a said that he had been poisoned. They brought him down to the bridge and showed him to the people of Baghdad that they might see that there was no sign of a wound on his body. And they buried him in the Graveyard [of Quraish.]

[148] His son, 'Ali, son of Musa, ar-Rida remained in Medina until Ma'mun carried him off to Khorasan (his story is well known) and he died in Tus. They said that he had been poisoned and buried him there.[18]

And since the Caliphs persecuted them because of their claim to the Imamate the sons of Isma'il went into hiding, and leaving Medina some of them betook themselves to Iraq and Khorasan and some to Maghrib.[19]

The Isma'ilis say *(guftand)* that Isma'il was still alive five years after Ja'far's death when he was seen in the market-place in Basra. A paralytic begged alms of him. Isma'il took him by the hand and he was healed; and rising to his feet he departed in his company. Isma'il also prayed for a blind person and he recovered his sight.

16 In 148/765.

17 There is a blank in A. D and G have Dībājī and Rashid-ad-Din Dībājiya, i.e. the Dibajis, but M.Q. regards this as an emendation due to the copyists, since the followers of Muhammad Dibaj are nowhere else referred to by such a name.

18 His shrine (*mashhad*) gave its name to Meshed.

19 I.e. Morocco and Western Algeria (lit. 'the West').

When Isma'il died his son Muhammad, who was already grown up during the life-time of Ja'far and was older than [Ja'far's son] Musa, made his way to Jibal[20] and came to Ray and from thence to * Shalanba[21] in Damavand. Muhammadabad in Ray is called after him. He had sons who went into hiding in Khorasan and making their way to Qandahar,[22] which is in the province of Sind, settled down in that country.

The *da'is* or missionaries of the Isma'ilis now poured into every land and called on the people to embrace their tenets; and many answered their call.

And from that direction 'Ali son of Isma'il, having recited the proverb: '*He that escapes with his head . . .*'[23] set out for Syria and Maghrib. And since he did not lay claim to the Imamate and had no following he showed himself openly. Sons were born to him and he has descendants there to this day.

Leaders now arose amongst the Isma'ilis who expounded their beliefs. The world, they said, had never been without an Imam and never would be. And if a man was Imam his father had been Imam before him, and his father's father before him, and so on back to Adam *(on whom be peace!)*, or, as some say, back to Eternity Past, for they believe in the eternal existence of the world. And in the same way an Imam's son would be Imam and his son's son, and so on until Eternity to come. And it was impossible for an Imam to die until his son who was to be Imam after him had been born or begotten. And they say that this is the meaning of the verses '*the one the posterity of the other*'[24] and '*this he established as a doctrine that should abide among his posterity*'.[25]

And when the Shi'a advanced against them the argument

[20] Jibāl, 'the Mountains', was the older name for Persian Iraq, i.e. Central Persia.

[21] Adopting the emendation suggested by M.Q. The text has SMLH, G and H SLMH and the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din ŠMLH. Shalamba or Shalanba was a town in the Damavand area.

[22] Not of course Qandahar in Afghanistan but the Indian kingdom of Gandhāra, of which the capital, Vaihind, lay between the Indus and the Kabul river. See Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 253–4.

[23] *Sc.* '. . . *hath gained thereby*'.

[24] Koran, iii, 30.

[25] *Ibid.*, xliii, 27.

that Hasan son of 'Ali was universally recognized as an Imam by all the Shi'a and yet his son was not Imam, they replied that the latter's Imamate was in trust *(mustauda')*, i.e. not permanent, he had it on loan, whereas Husain's Imamate was permanent *(mustaqarr)*, and this was referred to in the verse: *'an abode and a resting-place.'* [26]

They say too that an Imam is not always visible. Sometimes he is visible and sometimes hidden like day and night following each other. When the Imam is visible his propaganda *(da'vat)* may be hidden, [150] but when the Imam is hidden his propaganda may well be open and his *da'is* specified, as long as mankind has no proof of God.[27]

And the Prophets are the people of revelation *(tanzīl)* and the Imams the people of interpretation *(ta'vīl)*.[28] And no age and the age of no Prophet was devoid of an Imam. After Abraham there was a person who is mentioned in the Torah, where it is said that at that time there was a king who is called in the Torah in the Syriac and Hebrew languages Melchizedec [29] Melech Sholem, that is in the Arabic tongue Malik-as-Sidq and Malik-as-Salam. And it is said that when Abraham *(God's blessing upon him!)* came to him he gave him the tenth part of his flocks. And Khidr [30] who wished to teach Moses the knowledge of God was an Imam or designated as an Imam.[31]

[26] Koran, vi, 98. In the original *mustauḍa' wa-mustaqarr*, i.e. identical in form though not in meaning with the Isma'ili terms, on which see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 49–54.

[27] *tā khalq rā bar Khudāi ḥujjat na-bāshad.* Perhaps 'as long as mankind has no Imam'. The *ḥujjat* ('Proof') was a person in the Isma'ili hierarchy appointed by the Imam; but the term was in early Shiite usage applied to the Imam himself. See Ivanow, *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, 42–4; *Kalami Pir*, xlv–xlvi.

[28] On 'Le "Ta'wil" ou exégèse symbolique' see Corbin, *Kitâb-e Jâmi' al-Hikmatain*, 65–74.

[29] Genesis, xiv, 18. On the rôle of Melchizedec in Isma'ili mythology see Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 169–72 and 292–3.

[30] Identified with the Dhul-Qarnain of the Koran, who in other contexts represents Alexander the Great. (See above, i, 347, n. 21.) 'Dhú l-Qarnayn-Khiḍr as we know goes back even in the name to the Sumerian: Khiḍr is derived from an alternative name of the ever-living Utnapishtim himself.' (Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 292.)

[31] Reading *yā nām-zad-i-imām* as M.Q. suggests.

[151] Before the rise of Islam there was a period of occultation *(satr)* but in the lifetime of 'Ali *(may God be pleased with him!)* the Imam, that is 'Ali himself, became visible, and from thence onward until the time of Isma'il and his son Muhammad, who was the seventh Imam, all the Imams were visible. The period of occultation began with Isma'il and Muhammad. Muhammad was the last Imam to be visible. He became invisible and after him all the Imams will be invisible until they become visible again.

And they say *(guftand)* that Musa, son of Ja'far, laid down his life for Isma'il and that 'Ali, son of Musa, ar-Rida laid down his life for Muhammad, son of Isma'il. And the story of Abraham and the sacrifice—'*and we ransomed his son* [152] *with a costly victim*'[32]—was a reference to the like of this. In short, they relate many [such] absurdities.

Da'is arose among them, of whom were Maimun Qaddah, his son 'Abdallah,[33] who is considered one of the great scholars of that sect, and Hasan Shaikh 'Abdan.[34] Another, during the lifetime of Ja'far Sadiq *(may God be pleased with him!)*, was Abul-Khattab,[35] who claimed that Ja'far was God, as the Hululis or Ittihadis[36] also say. Of him Ja'far said: '*Accursed is he and his followers!*' And there were many others like him, each of whom has been mentioned in historical works and in treatises on religious sects.

Such were the tenets and beliefs that were spread abroad. In most of the countries of Islam, from West to East, persons

[32] Koran, xxxvii, 107. This son, according to the Moslem tradition, was not Isaac but Ishmael.

[33] On these two men see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 54–67. In summarizing 'a mass of conflicting evidence' Lewis has also made use of the material collected by M.Q., III, 312–43.

[34] Or perhaps 'Ḥasan *son of* Shaikh 'Abdān'. M.Q., however, concludes (III, 343–4) that both Ḥasan and the title of *shaikh* are mistaken additions on the part of Juvaini or his copyists. 'Abdān was related to Ḥamdān Qarmat, the eponymous founder of the Carmathian sect, in the sense that each was married to the other's sister.

[35] On Abul-Khaṭṭāb see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 32–7.

[36] Those who believe respectively in *ḥulūl*, the incarnation of the Creator in the creature, and in *ittiḥād*, the mystical union by which the creature becomes one with the Creator.

appeared, some secretly and some openly, but all agreed that the world was never without an Imam, that through him it was possible to know God and that knowledge of God was impossible without him. The prophets of every age had referred to him. As for the Shari'at it bore an inner and an outer meaning. The inner meaning was the real one, and when men had ascertained this inner meaning of the law [153] they would come to no harm from disregarding the outer meaning. On this account their beliefs are considered to stand outside those of all other sects, i.e. of Islam itself *(millat)*. And some of them went so far as to authorize *(ibāḥat)* [37] the commission of unlawful acts.

In 278/891–2, during the reign of the Caliph Mu'tamid,[38] the Carmathians (Qarmatis) [39] made their appearance, as is described in works of history, the first of them being Hamdan Qarmat. A group of people having gathered around him in the environs of Kufa he rose in rebellion. They began to murder Moslems, pillage their goods and carry off their children. They would fall [40] upon the cities of Syria and Iraq and then disappear into the desert. Their rebellion grew in size and the Caliphs were powerless to deal with them. They seized Bahrain [41] and then proceeded to Mecca. Here they slaughtered the pilgrims, filling the well Zamzam with their bodies, and broke the Black Stone to pieces. They kept it for a period of 25 years,[42] and although [154] the kings of Islam offered to buy it back for 100,000 dinars they refused to sell it. At the end of 25 years they took it to Kufa and threw it into the Friday mosque leaving with it a note in which they had written: 'By command we took this stone and by command we have brought it back.' The Moslems took the stone to Mecca and set it up again.

During the rebellion of the Carmathians one of the *da'is* of

[37] On *ibāḥat* (*ibāḥa*) see above, p. 639, n. 85.

[38] 870–92.

[39] On the Carmathians and the problem of their relationship with the Fatimids see Lewis, *op. cit.*, 76–89.

[40] Reading *mī uftād* with D.

[41] Not of course the islands in the Persian Gulf but the mainland opposite, the present-day Hasa.

[42] Actually 22 years.

the Isma'ilis, a descendant *(az farzandān)* of 'Abdallah b. Maimun Qaddah, came to the region of Kufa and Iraq accompanied by a son [43] and said: 'I am the *da'i* of the Imam and the Imam is about to appear.' And he sent Bul-Qasim, the son of Haushab,[44] to the Yemen to conduct propaganda there; and he charged him to send *da'is* to all sides. This Bul-Qasim had great success in the Yemen and a number of people [155] answered his call. One of these, a man called Bu-'Abdallah Sufi Muhtasib,[45] of the Katama tribe in Maghrib,[46] he sent thither to carry out propaganda; and some people accepted his words. He corresponded with the person who was a descendant of 'Abdallah b. Maimun and sent letters to him on the grounds that he was closer than Bul-Qasim, the son of Haushab, to the Imam. [156] That person encouraged him in his propaganda, and when his cause prospered and he seized the countries of Maghrib and the area round Qairawan and Sijilmasa,[47] this person who was a descendant of 'Abdallah b. Maimun proceeded thither with his son.[48] Upon their arrival in Sijilmasa Bu-'Abdallah Katami [49] came to welcome him,[50] saying, 'I governed on behalf of thy lieutenant. Now that thou art come thyself thou art superior.' He replied: 'Hitherto I said that I was the *da'i* of the Imam. This I did from expediency because

[43] *pisari*, which can also be translated 'a boy', a point not without interest in view of the theory advanced by Lewis, *op. cit.*, 51, that Muhammad al-Qā'im was not the son of 'Ubaidallah al-Mahdī, 'but the Imām *Mustaqarr* for whom he worked'.

[44] Abul-Qāsim Rustam b. al-Ḥusain b. Faraj b. Ḥaushab b. Zādhan an-Najjār al-Kūfī, known by the *laqab* of Manṣūr. See M.Q., III, 348–9, for an account of this famous Isma'ili missionary in the Yemen.

[45] On Abū-'Abdallah as-Ṣufī al-Muḥtasib, known also as Abū-'Abdullah ash-Shī'i, see M.Q., 349–50. He was the virtual founder of the Fatimid state.

[46] Abū-'Abdallah was not a Maghribi at all, though accounts differ as to his birth-place, which is variously given as Kufa, Rām-Hurmuz and Ṣan'ā in the Yemen.

[47] The ruins of Sijilmāsa lie some 200 miles to the south of Fez on the edge of the Sahara.

[48] Or 'the boy'. See above, n. 43.

[49] I.e. of the Katāma tribe, but see above, n. 46.

[50] In actual fact it was 'Ubaidallah who was in Sijilmāsa, where he was imprisoned together with his son (or master); and it was Abū-'Abdallah who approached the town, for the purpose of liberating them.

the time had not yet come for the manifestation of the Imam. Now that time has come and I declare that I am the Imam and [157] a descendant of Isma'il, the son of Ja'far.' And he called himself 'Abdallah al-Mahdi [51] and his son al-Qa'im bi-Amr-Allah Muhammad and set himself up as Imam and Caliph; and the people of Maghrib, and in particular the Katamis, recognized his claims.

In the year 258 [52] he built the town of Mahdiya in the region of Qairawan. [158] His affairs prospered and he sought to demolish the palace of the Shari'at and began to make light of its ordinances.

Bu-'Abdallah Sufi Muhtasib began to entertain doubts about him and to slacken in [the service of] his cause. His brother Yusuf [53] decided to rebel and cause Bu-'Abdallah also to rise against Mahdi. For this reason Bu-'Abdallah and his brother were both put to death by Mahdi.

The appearance of Mahdi in Sijilmasa, which is in the countries of Maghrib, and his conquest thereof took place in the year 296/908–9. And in the year 302/914–15 he conquered and destroyed the Aghlabid rulers representing the 'Abbasid Caliphs and became master of all the lands of Maghrib, Africa [54] and Sicily. And they recounted a tradition of the Prophet *(God bless him and give him peace!)*: '*At the beginning of the 300's the sun shall rise from the West*'; and they said that this tradition was to be interpreted as referring to the appearance of Mahdi. They said too that between Muhammad, the son of Isma'il, and Mahdi there were three hidden Imams [159], whose names were Muhammad, his father Ahmad and his father . . .[55] and their

[51] He is usually known as 'Ubaidallah but M.Q. quotes an Isma'ili work, the *Dustūr-al-Munajjimīn*, as calling him 'Abdallah and adding that his name had been 'Ubaidallah before his manifestation.

[52] So in all the MSS. for 308/920–1.

[53] This name is recorded in no other source, Abu-'Abdallah's brother being referred to either as Abul-'Abbās Muhammad or as Abul-'Abbās Ahmad. (M.Q.)

[54] *Ifriqīya*, i.e. the present-day Tripolitania and Tunisia together with Eastern Algeria.

[55] For the sake of clarity I have substituted 'his father' in both instances for the 'son of' of the original. The third name is missing in the *Dustūr-al-Munaj-*

laqabs Radi, Wafi, and Taqi, Mahdi being the son of Taqi.[56] However the Moslems of Maghrib said that Mahdi was a descendant *(az aulād)* of ʿAbdallah b. Salim of Basra,[57] one of the *dāʿis* of that sect, while the people of Baghdad and Iraq said that he was a descendant of ʿAbdallah b. Maimun. In short, they denied and refused to admit his descent from Ismaʿil, the son of Jaʿfar. During the reign of al-Qadir billah[58] a declaration *(maḥẓar)* was drawn up in Baghdad, which was signed by persons in authority, *sayyids,* cadis and *ulema,* to the effect that the pedigree[59] of Mahdi's descendants was subject to dispute and that in tracing back their ancestry to Jaʿfar Sadiq [160] *(may God be pleased with him!)* they were guilty of falsehood. (The text of this declaration will be given in the section on Hakim, the fifth in descent from Mahdi.)[60] Mahdi reigned supreme for 26 years and his death occurred in the year 322/934–5.

He was succeeded by his son[61] Qa'im. During the latter's reign a person called Abu-Yazid, a Maghribi, rose in rebellion. He was a God-fearing Moslem, a Sunni and a holy man:[62] he enumerated the heresies *(bidʿat)* of Mahdi and Qa'im to the people and numbers followed him. He joined battle with Qa'im, defeated his army and besieged him in Mahdiya. Qa'im's followers called him Dajjal because in the fighting *(malāḥim)* it had been said that Dajjal was rising against Mahdi or Qa'im.[63]

jimīn also. In the opinion of M.Q. (III, 355–7) Juvaini almost certainly used this work as his source of much of his information on the Ismaʿilis; and M.Q. suggests that the manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale may be the actual copy he extracted from the library at Alamut.

[56] According to Lewis, *op. cit.,* 73, Taqī would be the father, not of ʿUbaidallah, but of Muhammad al-Qā'im.

[57] The same genealogy is given in ʿArib's supplement to Tabari. See M.Q., III, 358.

[58] 991–1031.

[59] All the MSS. have *mazhab* 'belief' but Rashid-ad-Din in the corresponding passage has *nasab* 'genealogy', and this must be the meaning intended.

[60] See below, pp. 659–60.

[61] *pisar-i-ū.* Here there is no ambiguity.

[62] He was actually a Kharijite. See M.Q., III, 358–9.

[63] On Dajjāl see above, p. 530, n. 15. The Mahdī is a Messianic Imam, as is also the Qā'im, who appears at the beginning of the last millennium in a cycle of 7,000 years. See Ivanow, *Kalami Pir,* xxxv.

Qa'im died in the midst of these hostilities in Shavval of the year 334 [May–June, 946], and his death was kept secret.

He was succeeded by his son al-Mansur Isma'il, who adopted measures to oppose Abu-Yazid. He was a shrewd and courageous man. Having defeated and routed Abu-Yazid [161] he continued for some time to pursue him and give him battle until in the end he seized and slew him, causing his body to be sent around throughout the lands of Maghrib. He then ascended his father's throne and revealed the news of his death. In the year 341/952–3 he too died.

He was succeeded by his son, al-Mu'izz Abu-Tamim Ma'add, a shrewd, able, courageous and fortunate man. He took full and proper measures for the administration of the state, and his kingdom waxed greater than that of his fathers.

All his ambition was centred on gaining the kingdom of Egypt, which at that time was in the hands of Kafur [64] the Ikhshidi. Mu'izz sent his slave Abul-Hasan Jauhar to Egypt in the year 358/968–9 to conduct propaganda on his behalf. Many responded to his call and he then approached Kafur himself and addressed his propaganda to him also. He received his approaches favourably and in defiance of the 'Abbasid Caliphs the *khutba* was recited in the name of Mu'izz.[65]

Kafur died during that same year, viz. 358/968–9, and Jauhar became the sole ruler of Egypt on behalf of Mu'izz. And that year he founded the city of Cairo near Fustat, which was completed in 362/972–3 [162] and called Qahira Mu'izziya.

Mu'izz arrived in Egypt in Ramazan of the year 362 [June–July, 973] with troops without number and limitless riches and luxuries. He made Cairo his capital, and Egypt and the Hejaz passed from the control of the 'Abbasids and came into the hands of Mu'izz. And in such a fashion did he spread justice and equity that wondrous tales are still recounted of the effects

[64] On Kāfūr ('Camphor'), a black eunuch, see Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 88–9.

[65] In fact Kafur had died at least a year, if not longer, before Jauhar's arrival in Egypt.

and consequences thereof. He died in Rabi' II, 365 [December, 975–January, 976].

He was succeeded by his son al-'Aziz Abu-Mansur Nizar, who took possession of Maghrib, Egypt and the Hejaz. The story of his wars and battles and his victory over Alp-Tegin Mu'izzi, the governor of Syria on behalf of at-Ta'i' billah,[66] and Hasan b. Ahmad Qarmati, who came to Alp-Tegin's assistance, has been told in the history of the Maghrib countries. His death occurred in Ramazan, 386 [September–October, 996].

'Aziz was a mild good-natured man—so much so that Hasan b. Bashar [163] of Damascus satirized him, his vizier Ibn-Killis[67] and his secretary * Abu-Nasr * Qairawani[68] in the following *qit'a*:

Say to Abu-Nasr, the Secretary of the Palace, who is prepared to break up the realm:
'Loosen the knots of the kingdom for the Vizier, thou shalt win his best thanks and praise.
[164] *And give and deny not, and fear no one, for the Lord of the Palace is not in the Palace,*
And knoweth not what is desired of him, and if he knew he would not wish to know.'

Ibn-Killis having complained of the poet and recited the *qit'a*, 'Aziz said in reply: *'This is a matter in which we have shared the satire. Do thou then share the forgiveness of it with me.'*

The poet then composed another satire in which he included Fadl, the commander of 'Aziz's army:

Become a Christian, for Christianity is the true religion, as these times of ours prove.
And say of the Three: 'They are Mighty, Glorious',[69] and neglect all else, for it is negligible.
For Ya'qub the Vizier is the Father, and this 'Aziz the Son, and Fadl is the Holy Ghost.

Again the vizier brought the poem to 'Aziz's notice. He was

[66] 974–91.

[67] Ya'qūb b. Killis, a Jew, like so many of the Fatimid officials. See Lewis, *op. cit.*, 68

[68] The text has Abū-Mansūr Darwānī. Ibn-al-Athir gives the secretary's name as Abu-Nasr 'Abdallah b. al-Husain al-Qairawānī. (M.Q.)

[69] The plural of a phrase applied to Allah.

angry but said nevertheless: '*Forgive him.*' And he forgave him a second time.

Finally the vizier approached 'Aziz for the third time [165] and said: 'Forgiveness is no longer possible for the King's prestige has suffered loss. This time he has abused both thee, who art the 'Aziz,[70] me who am the vizier, and thy companion Ibn-Zabarij in this *qit'a*:

Zabariji is a courtier and Killisi a vizier—yes, the collar
is in keeping with the value of the dog.

'Aziz was enraged and authorized the vizier to arrest the poet. Then repenting he gave instructions for his release. Learning of this before the warrant had actually arrived the vizier hastened to put him to death. At this 'Aziz was filled with grief and regret.

'Aziz had given Syria to a Jew, whose name was Menesha,[71] and Egypt to a Christian called 'Isa b. Nestorius, and following the dictates of their creeds they behaved with tyranny and injustice towards the Moslems. Hereupon a woman wrote a note to 'Aziz in which she said: '*O Commander of the Faithful,* [166] *who hast exalted the Jews in Menesha b. * Abram*[72] *and the Christians in 'Isa b. Nestorius and wilt humble the Moslems in thyself unless thou look to my case.*' 'Aziz was much affected by this note. He dismissed them both and exacted 300,000 Maghribi dinars from the Christians in order to redress the wrongs he had done. And on several occasions he imposed upon the Jews and Christians the contributions *(mu'an)*[73] due from the Moslems.

His son, Hakim Abu-'Ali Mansur, succeeded him at the age of 11. He was as light-headed and insane as his father had been mild and gentle; his tyranny and cruelty towards the people of Egypt were boundless. It was one of his customs that when he was seated and charges of oppression were laid before him he would listen to the charges and in no way disavow the

[70] A pun, since '*aziz* was also a title meaning 'ruler of Egypt'.

[71] I.e. Menasseh.

[72] Reading ABRAM for the LBSAM. Several sources give his father's name as Ibrāhim.

[73] See above, p. 596, n. 147.

wrongs therein described. When letters were delivered to him they often consisted of foul abuse of himself and his ancestors and attacks on the authenticity of his pedigree.

The limit was reached when a woman was fashioned out of paper [167] and dressed in a *chadur*; and a sealed note having been placed in the dummy's hand it was set up in a place where Hakim would pass by. When the note was taken from the dummy's hand and given to the tyrannous Hakim, [he discovered that] it was nothing but obscene abuse of himself and his forebears with a detailed account of their shameful and abominable actions. He fell into a rage and commanded the woman to be brought to him. But when the attendants hastened towards her they found it was only an image. In his annoyance at this Hakim ordered his slaves and troops to set fire to Cairo and slaughter the population. The people of the town massed together to prevent them and to protect the honour of their womenfolk; but wherever they were unable to halt them Hakim's men burnt and pillaged and slaughtered. Hakim came every day in person to watch and used to pretend that these acts were committed without his leave or permission. On the third day the *shaikhs* and leading citizens of Cairo took refuge in the Friday mosque; and holding up Korans on the end of sticks they proclaimed their wrongs, saying: 'If this evil is done without thy leave or permission, allow us, thy servants and subjects, to repel the evil-doers' [168]. He replied: 'I did not order this evil, do you then drive them off.' And to the soldiers he said: 'Keep on with your work.' When the fighting began the massed townsmen drove the troops back to the gates of Cairo, where Hakim's own quarters were. He took fright and ordered the soldiers to stop. In the course of this catastrophe a quarter of Cairo was burnt down and half of it plundered, and Hakim's slaves committed so many shameful acts against the womenfolk of the town that the wearers of the veil [74] killed themselves for fear of disgrace.

[74] I adopt the emendation suggested by M.Q. and read *arbāb-i-sitr* for the *arbāb-i-shahr* 'people of the town' of the text, in which it is followed by the unintelligible word MRWAT, conceivably a wrongly formed plural of *mar'a* 'woman'.

Hakim used to walk about at night in the bazaars and investigate the affairs of his subjects. He had also appointed old women to pry into the concerns of their own sex: they would go in and out of the people's houses and report to him truly and falsely on wearers of the veil. On this pretext he put a number of women to death and issued a proclamation forbidding women to leave their houses or go on the rooftops and shoemakers to make women's boots.

He forbade the people to drink wine, and since they did not desist he ordered most of the vines to be uprooted.

Another custom of his was to write notes in his own hand, some saying, 'Give the bearer of this note 1,000 dinars, or such-and-such a town, [169] or such-and-such a costly robe of honour,' and some 'Kill the bearer of this note, or take such-and-such a sum from him, or cut off this or that limb of his, and torture and mutilate him.' And he would seal the notes with wax, ambergris or sealed earth, and on audience days he would scatter them about and everybody according to his luck would avidly snatch up one of these notes and bear it off to the local administrators *(mutaṣarrifān-i-a'māl)*, and whatever the contents of the note might be they were put into effect immediately.

Hakim issued an edict forbidding Christians and Jews to ride horses or mules or to have iron stirrups; and each of them had to wear a necklace with several bells on it in order to distinguish them from the Moslems.

Because of such blameworthy actions the whole population, Moslem and non-Moslem, became disgusted with the evil of his unseemly deeds and edicts; and his very womenfolk as well as his intimates and courtiers grew weary of him.

He made accusations against his sister, Sitt-al-Mulk, to Ibn-Dawwas,[75] one of his emirs, who was the commander of his armies and the administrator of his affairs. Because of this his sister sent to Ibn-Dawwas and they agreed to kill Hakim and set up his son 'Ali in his stead; and made a covenant to put him to death. They gave 1,000 dinars to two of Ibn-Dawwas'

[75] Ibn-Dawwās was a chieftain of the Maghribi tribe of the Katāma. See M.Q., III, 360.

aves to lie in ambush on the Muqattam hills near Cairo and, ,hen [170] Hakim went there as usual with his young equerry *kūdak-i-rikābi),* to kill them both. Now Hakim professed to ınderstand astrology and he had calculated that that night would ›e decisive for him and that if he came safely through it he would ve to be over eighty. He told this to his mother and she begged .nd implored him [to stay quietly at home] saying that it would ›e better if he did not stir. He allowed himself to be persuaded ›y her words. However at dawn he was overcome with a :eling of uneasiness: he was unable to keep still and could ıot sleep or rest. His mother wept and clutched at the hem of ıis garment, but it was no use. 'Unless I bestir myself this ·ery moment,' he said, 'my soul will fly from my body.' ·nd he set out for the Muqattam hills with his attendant. The laves sprang out from their ambush and killed both Hakim ıd the attendant. They carried his body to his sister secretly .nd she buried it in her own palace. No one learnt of this ecret except the vizier, whom they acquainted therewith after ›ledging him to silence. Upon learning the truth he agreed to vork with them and to help to allay the fears of the people. 'hey accounted for Hakim's absence by saying that he had gone way for a week, and every day they would produce a different ›erson to report that he was now in such-and-such a place.

[171] Finally they acquainted the leading men and chief fficials [with his disappearance] and after the conclusion of greements and the assignment of presents they swore allegiance ɔ his son, Abul-Hasan 'Ali, who received the title of az-Zahir illah,[76] and set him upon the throne. The news of Hakim's :ath was then revealed, and Ibn-Dawwas was presented with nagnificent robes of honour and was given complete control of ffairs of state.

[Sitt-al-Mulk] now sent for Nasim Khadim, who was steward *qahramān)* of the palaces and supervisor of the slaves and was lways accompanied by 100 slaves armed with swords to protect ıe Caliph; and she reached an agreement with him about illing Ibn-Dawwas. She guilefully made those 100 slaves the

[76] His *laqab* was actually az-Ẓāhir li-i'zāz Dīn-Allāh. (M.Q.)

attendants of Ibn-Dawwas, and then one day, on her instructions, Nasim closed the gates of the palace, seized Ibn-Dawwas and said to the slaves: 'Our master, Zahir, says: "Ibn-Dawwas is my father's murderer. Kill him."' They ran their swords through him and put him to death.

After Ibn-Dawwas [172] Sitt-al-Mulk got rid of all the persons who were implicated with her in the murder of Hakim or had knowledge thereof. And so she ruled the state and administered the realm alone and without a rival; and fear of her was firmly planted in the hearts of all the high officials and functionaries.

Now the death of Hakim and God's delivery of the people of those lands from his tyranny and oppression, his wicked deeds and evil morals took place in Shavval of the year 411 [January–February, 1021].[77]

From the Angel of Death unto Malik.[78]

And Zahir was Caliph for 15 years [173] and died in 427/1035–6.[79]

[IX]

OF THE DECLARATION REGARDING THE FALSE MAHDI

In the year 309,[1] during the reign of al-Qadir billah,[2] Hakim entered into correspondence with Muʿtamid-ad-Daula Abu-Maniʿ Qirwash b. Muqallad the 'Uqailid,[3] the ruler of Mosul on behalf of the ʿAbbasid Caliphs. [174] He sent him a stream of presents from Egypt and invited him to swear allegiance to himself. Muʿtamid-ad-Daula agreed. He induced the people of Mosul to submit to Hakim and rebel against al-Qadir billah. He recited the *khutba* in Hakim's name and departing to Kufa did likewise there. At that time Baha-ad-Daula, son of ʿAzud-

[77] On the 27th or 28th Shavval—24th or 25th February, 1021. (M.Q.)

[78] Abul-Fath Busti. Mālik is the name of the keeper of Hell. (M.Q.)

[79] On the 15th Sha'ban—13th July, 1036. (M.Q.)

[1] A gross mistake for 401/1010–11. (M.Q.)

[2] 991–1031.

[3] On the 'Uqailids or Banū-'Uqail, a branch of the Arab tribe of the Banū-Ka'b, see Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 116–17.

ad-Daula,[4] was absent in Fars. Receiving news of this he sent some one to Mu'tamid-ad-Daula to reprimand him in strong terms. Mu'tamid-ad-Daula repented of his action and withdrew his head from the noose of allegiance to Hakim. In those countries the *khutba* was again recited in the name of al-Qadir billah, and Mu'tamid-ad-Daula was distinguished by the Seat of the Caliphate with costly robes of honour. The details and circumstances are recorded in books of history. Here we have trodden the path of concision, our purpose being to introduce the declaration *(mahzar)* which was drawn up regarding the falseness of their genealogy, the text of which is as follows:

'In the name of God the Merciful, the compassionate!

This it is whereto the witnesses bear witness, namely that Ma'add, the son of [175] *Isma'il, who seized Egypt was Ma'add, the son of 'Abd-ar-Rahman, the son of Sa'id, and that they are descended from Daisan, the son of Sa'id, from whom spring the Daisanis;*[5] *that the aforesaid Sa'id betook himself to Maghrib, where he was called 'Abdallah and received the* laqab *of al-Mahdi; that this upstart in Egypt is Mansur with the* laqab *of al-Hakim (may God condemn him to destruction and perdition!), the son of Nizar, the son of Ma'add, the son of Isma'il, the son of 'Abd-ar-Rahman, the son of Sa'id; that* [176] *his foul and unclean ancestors (the curse of God upon them and the curse of all cursers!) were false and alien claimants standing in no relationship to the descendants of 'Ali, the son of Abu-Talib, and being in no way connected with him; that their claim to be descendants of his is false and untrue and no member of any of the Talibi families has ever ceased describing them as alien claimants; that this repudiation of their lies was current in the Sacred Territories and was published far and wide when they first appeared in Maghrib; and that this upstart in*

[4] On the Būyid (Buwaihid) dynasty to which these rulers belonged see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 139–42. These Dailamite princes 'were upstarts who, with a crowd of other adventurers from Gīlān and Daylam, appeared on the stage towards 308/920. By 323/935 the sons of the Daylamite Būya were masters of Isfahan and Rayy. On 17 January Baghdad was theirs, and for a century the orthodox caliphs became puppets in the hands of these heterodox usurpers.' (Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 112.)

[5] I.e. the Bardesanians, the followers of Bar Daisan, a Syrian converted from paganism to Christianity who died *circa* 222.

Egypt, he and his ancestors, are unbelievers,[6] *libertines,*[7] *atheists,*[8] *materialists,*[9] *heretics,*[10] *denying Islam, holding the creed of Dualism and Magism, having broken all bounds, sanctioned whoredom,* [177] *legalized wine-drinking, shed blood, insulted the prophets and laid claim to divinity.*

This was written in Rabi' II of the year 402 [November, 1011] *and there bore witness thereto, of the 'Alid* sharifs, *al-Murtada and ar-Radi of the family of Musa*[11] *and others of their number as also the eminent jurists Shaikh Abu-Hamid al-Isfarayini, Abul-Hasan*[12] *al-Quduri, the Chief Cadi Abu-Muhammad b. al-Afkani and Abu-'Abdallah al-Baidawi.'*[13]

This declaration was read from the pulpit in Baghdad and in the other lands.

[X]

OF THE ACCESSION OF MUSTANSIR, THE SON OF ZAHIR

WHEN Zahir died his son, Abu-Tamim Ma'add was seven years old. [178] He was set on the throne of the Caliphate and given the title of Mustansir. He was noted for his extreme

[6] *kāfir.* On *kāfir* 'unbeliever' and *kufr* 'unbelief' ('. . . with these terrible and unequivocal words we perhaps come nearest to an Islamic equivalent of heresy') see Lewis, *Some observations on the significance of Heresy in the History of Islam,* 58–60.

[7] *fāsiq.*

[8] *zindiq.* 'This word is of uncertain origin—possibly Syriac, more probably Persian. In Sasanid times it seems to have been applied to Manichaeans, and more generally to followers of ascetic and unorthodox forms of Iranian religion. In Islamic times too the word was at first applied to Manichaeans and related groups, more especially to those who held dualist doctrines while making nominal profession of Islam. Later it was generalized to cover all holders of unorthodox, unpopular and suspect beliefs, particularly those considered dangerous by the social order and the state. At the same time it was applied loosely to materialists, atheists, agnostics, and the like, and came to have the general meaning of free-thinker and libertine.' (Lewis, *op. cit.*, 54–5.)

[9] *mu'aṭṭil,* 'he who deprives God of His attributes'.

[10] *mulḥid* 'deviator', a term afterwards applied specifically to the Isma'ilis of Alamut. See above, i, 256, n. 28, also Lewis, *op. cit.*, 56.

[11] I.e. Mūsā the son of Ja'far, the Seventh Imam of the Imami Shi'a.

[12] A mistake for Abul-Husain. (M.Q.)

[13] On these four doctors of the Moslem Canon Law see M.Q., III, 361–2.

insanity and his small understanding; and because of the capriciousness of his actions and the incongruity of his behaviour—misplaced extravagance and parsimony in cases where he should have been liberal—he became known as Mustansir the Mad. Strange tales, remote from the manners and customs of caliphs and sultans, have been written about him in books and recorded in works of history. Here we shall cite only one or two instances from which it is possible to appreciate the nature of other like actions on his part.

An example of his extravagance was that he used to ask the treasury for precious stones with a good lustre, and he would then pound them like collyrium and cast the powder into a stream. And his parsimony was such that he would reduce his troops to great straits by withholding their normal rations and retaining their usual pay: and as a result they would riot and mutiny. One day they besieged him in his palace and demanded their dues. He wrote in his own hand a note excusing his retaining and withholding [their pay]:

> '*I have become such that I fear and honour none but my God, from Whom is grace.*
> *My grandsire is my prophet, and my father my Imam, and my speech the assertion of God's oneness and justice.*

[179] *Wealth is God's wealth, and servants His servants, and to give is better than to refuse. And those who behave unjustly shall know what a reverse they will suffer.*'

The remainder of his actions were in keeping with these, from which they may be deduced.

> *They are instances of diabolic suggestions: he gives or refuses not out of parsimony or generosity.*[1]

And Mustansir lived his life in this fashion and held the Caliphate for a space of 60 years. *God Almighty hath said: 'We only give them length of days that they may increase their sins.'*[2]

He had two sons, one of whom was called Abu-Mansur

[1] The Baghdad poet Mu'āwiya b. Sufyān in a satire on Hasan b. Sahl, the vizier of the Caliph Ma'mun. (M.Q.)

[2] Koran, iii, 172.

Nizar. He first of all made this son his heir and gave him the title of al-Mustafa li-Din-Allah. Then he repented having taken this step, disinherited him and made his other son, Abul-Qasim Ahmad, his heir with the title of al-Musta'li billah.[3]

After Mustansir's death the emirs and *da'is*[4] of the Heresy divided into two parties, and some supported the Imamate of Nizar on the ground that [only] the first designation was valid. The Isma'ilis, i.e. the Heretics, of Iraq, Syria, Qumish[5] and Khorasan, were of this party and are called the Nizaris. The other party upheld the Imamate of Musta'li. [180] These are the Isma'ilis of Egypt and those parts and they are called Musta'lawis.

During the reign of Mustansir Hasan-i-Sabbah had been engaged in open propaganda[6] in the regions of Dailam, as shall be hereinafter described. Now to the party of Nizar there was applied the term of Heresy *(ilḥād)*[7] *par excellence* because in the propaganda of Hasan-i-Sabbah the ordinances of Muhammad *(upon whom be peace!)* were abolished and forbidden things made lawful. *God Almighty hath said: 'And whoso will not judge by what God hath sent down—such are the perverse.'*[8] The Musta'lawis on the other hand did not rebel against the outward form of the Shari'at but conformed with the customs of their ancestors.

In Cairo the troops and people supported Musta'li and set him upon the throne of the Caliphate. Nizar fled from Musta'li with his two sons[9] and went to Alexandria, where the people swore fealty to him. Musta'li sent troops which besieged him for a while in Alexandria until finally the town surrendered

[3] This is incorrect. It was Mustansir's vizier, after the Caliph's death, who set Musta'li upon the throne in preference to his eldest brother, the heir-apparent. See Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 161–2.

[4] Reading *dā'iyān* with all the MSS. except one, which has *a'yān* 'notables', the reading of the text.

[5] See above, i, 146, n. 16.

[6] *Sc.* on behalf of Nizār.

[7] See above, i, 256, n. 28, and 282, n. 15.

[8] Koran, v, 51.

[9] The circumstance of Nizar's being accompanied by two sons is not mentioned by the usual authorities and M.Q., III, 364–5, is inclined to think that Juvaini found this detail in some Isma'ili work. That Nizar was in fact the father of two sons is attested by the *Dustūr-al-Munajjimīn*, which gives their names as the Emir Abu-'Abdallah Husain and the Emir Abu-'Ali Hasan.

and they carried Nizar and his sons off to Cairo. All three remained imprisoned there until their death. The Nizaris claim that one son of Nizar, who according to their vain beliefs was designated Imam, left a son in Alexandria on whom no one [181] had laid hands, not having recognized him. And to-day the leader of the Heretics of Alamut traces his descent from this son, as shall be mentioned in [the chapter on] the New Propaganda.[10]

As for Musta'li he retained the Caliphate until his death.

He was succeeded by his son Abu-'Ali Mansur,[11] who on the 4th of Zul-Qa'da, 524 [10th of October, 1130] was assassinated by some Nizari extremists.

Having no son he had designated his cousin Abul-Maimun 'Abd-al-Majid the son of Muhammad [12] as his heir-apparent,[13] who now succeeded him as Caliph receiving the title of al-Hafiz li-Din-Allah. He reigned for 20 years.

He was succeeded by Abu-Mansur Isma'il,[14] who was given the title of az-Zafir.[15] He was murdered by his vizier 'Abbas b. Tamim.[16]

[182] His son, Abul-Qasim 'Isa, who was five years old, was set on the throne in his stead and given the title of al-Fayiz billah. He died after a reign of six years.

After his death his cousin Abu-Muhammad 'Abdallah b. Yusuf was set up as Caliph and given the title of al-'Adid li-Din-Allah. He was still reigning when the Ayyubids made themselves masters of Egypt.

[10] See below, pp. 691–4.

[11] His *laqab* was Āmir

[12] Muhammad was a son of Mustansir.

[13] This *is* incorrect. Hafiz succeeded Āmir, *in the* first place, as regent, pending the birth of a posthumous child, which turned out to be a daughter. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit*, 166–7.

[14] His son.

[15] His full title was az-Ẓāfir bi-Amr-Allah.

[16] As M.Q. points out it was actually 'Abbas's son who committed the murder. See Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 171–2.

[XI]

AN ACCOUNT OF THESE EVENTS[1] AND THE REASON THEREFOR

IN the beginning of the year 554[2] a great army of Franks invaded Egypt and began to massacre and pillage. [183] They laid siege to Cairo and the Caliph, the vizier and the whole population of Egypt and Cairo were in despair, whereupon Shabur,[3] 'Adid's vizier, in whose hands the government of the country lay, made peace with the leader[4] of the Franks by offering 1,000,000 Egyptian dinars partly in credit and partly in cash. The Franks then raised the siege of Cairo but remained in Egypt awaiting the payment of the remainder of the sum agreed upon.

At that time Nur-ad-Din Mahmud b. Zangi b. Aq-Sonqur was lord of Syria. 'Adid, the vizier and the people of Cairo appealed to him for help against the invasion of the Franks and sought his aid and support with such instancy that [184] they even sent him their womenfolk's hair. Nur-ad-Din sent Shirkuh, the Lord of Hims, with a numerous army to defend Egypt, and Salah-ad-Din Yusuf,[5] the nephew of Shirkuh, accompanied his uncle. When the Frankish army got tidings of the army of Syria, they turned back towards their homes and Shirkuh made for Cairo, which he reached on the 7th of Rabi II, 564 [16th of January, 1169].

'Adid and Shabur, to show him honour, came out to meet him. Shirkuh asked Shabur for some money for the troops but he chose to postpone payment. Love and amity turned to hatred and emnity, and Shabur laid his plans to make away with Shirkuh under the pretext of entertaining him. But 'Adid being weak and powerless in the hands of Shabur, informed

[1] I.e. the overthrow of the Fatimid Caliphate.

[2] A gross mistake for 564/1168–9. (M.Q.)

[3] For the usual Shāwar. M.Q. discusses this name at some length (II. 371–3) and concludes that it may (as Juvaini's Shābūr would seem to indicate) be derived from the Persian Shāpūr.

[4] Amalric I.

[5] The Saladin of the Crusaders. On the origins of this Kurdish family see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 124–32.

Shirkuh of his treachery and so was the cause of his death. One day Shabur came to Shirkuh to pay a friendly call. The latter's nephew Salah-ad-Din Yusuf came out, as though to greet him in his usual manner, with a body of armed men. He seized him and, as 'Adid had commanded, sent him his head. This occurred on the 17th of Rabi' II, 564 [26th of January, 1169].

'Adid [185] conferred the viziership on Shirkuh and gave him the title of Malik Mansur. Before three months [6] were out he had died. 'Adid then gave the viziership to his nephew Salah-ad-Din Yusuf. Salah-ad-Din reduced affairs to order; he gained the mastery over 'Adid and Egypt and 'Adid was completely subservient to him.

Nur-ad-Din Mahmud, the lord of Syria, wrote to Salah-ad-Din Yusuf that, order having been re-established in those countries, the truth should triumph over the false and be restored to its rightful place, [that is,] the outward signs of Islam revealed again by the mention in public prayers of the 'Abbasid Caliphs. Salah-ad-Din agreed, and on the first Friday of Muharram, 566,[7] he pronounced the *khutba* in the pulpits of Egypt and struck coin in the name of an-Nasir li-Din-Allah.[8]

'Adid died on 'Ashura [9] and Salah-ad-Din imprisoned his children [186] and kinsmen and finally caused them all to drink the draught of annihilation and utterly extinguished their race. Salah-ad-Din now became supreme: his achievements were praiseworthy and the circumstances of his life are well-known.

[6] Shirkuh's vizierate actually lasted two (lunar) months and five days. He died on 22nd Jumada II, 564 [24th March, 1169]. (M.Q.)

[7] A mistake for 567. (M.Q.) The 10th September, 1171.

[8] Evidently a *mistake* for Nāsir's predecessor, Mustaḍī (1170–80).

[9] The 10th Muharram, i.e. the 14th September, 1171.

[XII]

OF HASAN-I-SABBAH AND HIS INNOVATIONS (*TAJDĪD*) AND THE PROPAGANDA OF THE HERETICS WHICH THEY CALL 'THE NEW PROPAGANDA' (*MAY GOD NOT RENEW IT!*)

AFTER God Almighty through the resolve and action of the World-Prince Hülegü had uprooted the castles and dwelling-places of those accursed ones and had put an end to their wickedness, at the time of the conquest of Alamut the author of this book received and executed the command to examine what was deposited in their treasury and collected together in their library, in order to extract therefrom whatever was worthy of the Private Treasury *(khāṣṣ)*. Now I was examining the library which they had gathered together over a period of many years, and from amongst the multitude of lying treatises [1] and false teachings touching their religion and belief (which they had mingled with copies of the noble Koran and all manner of choice books, interweaving good and evil) was extracting whatever I found in the way of rare and precious volumes after the manner of '*He bringeth forth the living out of the dead*',[2] when I came upon a book containing [187] the life and adventures of Hasan-i-Sabbah, which they call *Sar-Guzasht-i-Sayyidna*. From this work I have copied whatever was to the point and suitable for insertion in this history, adducing whatever was confirmed and verified.[3]

[1] Reading *fuṣūl* for the *fuẓūl* of the text. [2] Koran, xxx, 18.

[3] On the relationship between Juvaini's quotations from this work and the much fuller quotations in Rashid-ad-Din see Bowen, *The* sar-gudhasht-i sayyidnā, *the 'Tale of the Three Schoolfellows' and the* wasaya *of the Niẓām al-Mulk*. Bowen's conclusions are summarized as follows by Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 73, n. 34: 'Very often Rashîd ad-Dîn has more facts than Juwaynî, where Juwaynî has more opinions than Rashîd ad-Dîn. Where they coincide, the wording is almost identical—one would suppose, therefore, that Juwaynî was excerpting the originals which Rashîd ad-Dîn copied. Yet in beginning his story Rashîd ad-Dîn seems to quote the introductory phrase of Juwaynî, who had written a generation earlier; so that Bowen suggests that the common original was a first and fuller draft by Juwaynî, which Juwaynî pruned of the more objectionable parts, including the obviously legendary and the less interesting; and of which he redressed the language to make it less offensive to Sunnî ears.'

He traced his descent to the Himyar tribe. His father came from the Yemen to Kufa, then from Kufa to Qum and from Qum to Ray. Here he settled down and here Hasan-i-Sabbah was born.

By origin thou art from Qayin and thy abode is in Kushkak.
O foolish cuckold, what dost thou in Khutlan ? [4]

[188] His name was Hasan, son of 'Ali, son of Muhammad, son of Ja'far, son of Husain, son of Muhammad, [son of] Sabbah the Himyari—*upon him be the curse of God, and the angels, and all mankind!*

It is related in the *Sar-Guzasht* that some of his followers wrote an account of his forefathers and brought it to him; but from a desire to deceive and misrepresent he would not sanction it and washed the pages in water.

This accursed Hasan relates as follows: 'I followed the religion of my fathers, that is Twelver Shi'ism.[5] There was a person in Ray called Amira Zarrab[6] who held the beliefs of the Batinis of Egypt. We constantly disputed with each other and he tried to destroy my beliefs. I did not give in to him but his words took root in my heart. Meanwhile I was overcome with a very dreadful illness and I thought to myself: "That is the true religion and because of my fanaticism I would not admit it. If, which Heaven forfend, my appointed hour should come, I shall have perished without attaining the truth." It so happened that I recovered from that illness. Now there was

[4] Kushkaki of Qāyin (Qā'in), a poet of the age of Sanjar. The poet is addressing himself. (M.Q.) The text has Jīlān, i.e. Gīlān, for which I have substituted the Khutlān of M and the *Majma'-al-Fuṣaḥā*, which fits in better with the context of the original poem. Khutlān (Khuttalān) was the name of the mountainous region between the Vakhsh and the Panj in what is now the Soviet Socialist Republic of Tajikistan.

[5] Or Imami Shi'ism, the state religion of present-day Persia. The Twelvers, as their name applies, believe in twelve Imams, of whom the first was the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Ali and the twelfth, the Mahdi, is still alive in some secret place from which he will one day emerge in order to fill the world with justice. Of these twelve Imams the Seveners, i.e. the Isma'ilis, recognize only the first six, to whom they add as the seventh Imam either Isma'il, the son of Ja'far as-Sadiq, or his grandson Muhammad.

[6] Ẓarrāb 'the Coiner'.

another Batini called Bu-Najm Sarraj.[7] I questioned him about their religion. He expounded it to me in detail so that I became conversant with its hidden secrets *(ghavāmiẓ)*. There was another called Mu'min, who had been authorized by 'Abd-al-Malik,[8] son of 'Attash, to carry out propaganda. [189] I asked him to administer the oath of allegiance. He replied: "Thy rank, since thou art Hasan,[9] is higher than mine since I am but Mu'min.[10] How then shall I administer the oath to thee? That is, how shall I ask thee to swear fealty to the Imam?" However, after much insistence on my part, he administered the oath to me.

'In the year 464/1071–2 'Abd-al-Malik, the son of 'Attash, who at that time was the *da'i* in Iraq, came to Ray. I met with his approval, and he made me a deputy *da'i* and indicated that I should go to His Majesty in Egypt, who at the time was Mustansir.

'In the year 469/1076–7 I went to Isfahan on my way to Egypt. (From thence he proceeded to Syria by way of Azerbaijan after experiencing the dangers which are recorded in detail in that history.)

'I finally arrived in Egypt in the year 471/1078–9. I stayed there nearly a year and a half, and during [190] my stay, though I was not admitted before Mustansir, he knew of me and several times spoke in praise of me. Now Amir-al-Juyush,[11] his Commander-in-Chief, who was an absolute and all-powerful ruler, was the father-in-law of his younger son, Musta'li, whom by a second designation he had made his heir.[12] Now I, in accordance with the principles of my religion, [191] conducted propaganda on behalf of Nizar. (This has been previously mentioned.)[13] On this account Amir-al-Juyush was ill-disposed

[7] Sarrāj 'the Saddler'.

[8] He was the father of the Ahmad who seized the fortress of Shāhdiz at Isfahan. See Hodgson, *op. cit*, 85–6 and 95–6.

[9] I.e. Hasan, the son of 'Ali, and *ḥasan* 'good'.

[10] *mu'min* is the Arabic for 'believer'.

[11] Amīr-al-Juyūsh itself means 'Commander-in-Chief'. This was the title of the famous vizier Badr al-Jamālī, originally an Armenian slave, on whom see Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 150–3.

[12] See above, p. 662 and n. 3.

[13] See above, p. 662.

towards me and girded himself to attack me so that they were compelled to send me by ship to Maghrib with a party of Franks.

'The sea was rough and drove the ship towards Syria, where a miracle *(vāqi'a)*[14] happened to me. From thence I went to Aleppo, from whence, by way of Baghdad and Khuzistan, I arrived in Isfahan in Zul-Hijja of the year 473 [May–June, 1081]. From thence I proceeded to Kerman and Yezd and conducted propaganda there for a while. Then I returned to Isfahan and went to Khuzistan for the second time and from thence, by way of the desert, to Firrim[15] and Shahryar-Kuh.[16]

[192] 'I remained three years in Damghan, from whence I sent *da'is* to Andij-Rud[17] and the other districts of Alamut to convert the people. And I went to Jurjan, Tarz,[18] Sarhadd[19] and Chinashk[20] and returned from thence.

[193] 'Nizam-al-Mulk had charged Bu-Muslim Razi to lay hands on me and he was making great efforts to find me. I could not therefore go to Ray although I wished to proceed to Dailaman, whither I had sent *da'is*. Accordingly I went to Sari from whence I reached Qazvin by way of Dunbavand[21] and Khuvar of Ray; and so avoided Ray itself.

'From Qazvin I again sent a *da'i* to the castle of Alamut, which was held by an 'Alid called Mahdi as a fief from Malik-Shah.[22] Now Alamut is *aluh-amut*, i.e. "the eagle's nest", and

[14] This miracle according to the fuller version in Rashid-ad-Din was his prophesying that the ship would not sink. (M.Q.)

[15] Firrīm, the ancient capital of the Bāvand dynasty, was situated in the mountains of Eastern Mazandaran, to the south of Sari on the banks of a tributary of the Tejen. A district of the same name (Farīm) still exists in that area, i.e. in the Du-Danga division of Hazar-Jarib. (M.Q.) See also Minorsky, *Ḥudūd*, 387.

[16] The present-day Hazar-Jarib mountain-range. (M.Q.)

[17] Andij-Rūd is to-day one of the four sub-districts of Alamut. See M.Q., III, 388 and 389.

[18] M.Q., III, 398–9, suggests that this may be identical with the Isma'ili village in the Baihaq area mentioned by Ibn-al-Athir *sub anno* 520/1126–7.

[19] Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, 21, mentions a sub-district of this name in Tunakabun, the most westerly district of Mazandaran, but in the present context one would rather expect some locality in the Astarabad area.

[20] On Chināshk, a sub-district of Kuhsar in Eastern Astarabad see M.Q., III, 399–400, Rabino, *op. cit.*, 83–4.

[21] Dunbāvand is the older form of Damāvand.

[22] The famous Seljuq ruler (1072–92).

an eagle had its nest there. Some of the people in Alam converted by the *da'i* and they sought to convert the 'Al He pretended to be won over but afterwards contrived down all the converts and then closed the gates of th saying that it belonged to the Sultan. After much dis he re-admitted them and after that they refused to go d his bidding.

'From Qazvin I went to Dailaman, then to the dist Ashkavar and then to Andij-Rud, which is adjacent to A and here I remained for some time.'

Because of his extreme asceticism many people fell vict him and were converted by him. And on the eve of Wed the 6th of Rajab, 483 [4th of September, 1090]—and by a coincidence the letters of Aluh-Amut, if added together acc to their *abjad* values,[23] give the date of the year in wh ascended Alamut—he was brought up by stealth into the He remained there for a time in disguise calling himself Dihk When the 'Alid learnt of his presence he was powerless anything. He was given permission to leave, and Hasan a draft on the governor of Girdkuh and Damghan, the Muzaffar Mustaufi, a secret convert of his, for the sum of gold dinars as the price of the castle. [195] Now Hasan b of his great asceticism used to express himself with e terseness in his correspondence, as in the case of this dr which the text is as follows: 'The *ra'is* MZ *(may God p him!)* is to pay 3,000 dinars, the price of Alamut, to the Mahdi. *Blessings upon the Elect Prophet and his family!* *sufficiency is God, and He is an excellent protector."'* [25]

The 'Alid took this draft and thought to himself: 'Th Muzaffar is a great man and deputy to Amirdad Hab

[23] The *abjad* is the Arabic alphabet arranged in its ancient order as sti for numeration. The values of the letters of Aluh-Amūt (ALH A —not, it is to be noted, of Alamūt (ALMWT), the usual form of the are 1 + 30 + 5 + 1 + 40 + 6 + 400 = 483.

[24] On the office of *ra'is* see above, i, 112, n. 8, also Lambton, *Islamic in Persia,* 10.

[25] Koran, iii, 167.

[26] One of the Seljuq emirs. See above, i, 278, also Hodgson, *op. cit.,*

the son of Altun-Taq. How should he give me something in exchange for a note?' Some time afterwards he happened to be in Damghan and being in needy circumstances he put the matter to the test and took the note to the *ra'is* Muzaffar. He at once kissed the writing and paid him the gold.

Once Hasan-i-Sabbah *(may God confound him!)* was firmly established in Alamut and had gained full control there he dispatched *da'is* in all directions and devoted the whole of his time to spreading his propaganda and perverting the short-sighted. Now his reform of their heresy *(bid'at)*,[27] which after his death they called the New Propaganda, was after this fashion.[28] His predecessors had based their tenets upon the symbolic interpretation *(ta'vil)*[29] of revelations, especially the ambiguous verses of the Koran and upon strange deductions *(istikhrāj-i-ma'ānī)* from the traditions *(akhbār va āṣār)* and the like thereof; and they used to say that there was a symbolic interpretation of every revelation and that every [196] outward form bore an inner meaning. But Hasan-i-Sabbah would admit nothing but teaching and learning *(ta'līm va ta'allum)*.[30] The knowledge of God, he said, was not to be attained through the reason and by reflection *(naẓar)* but through the teaching of the Imam, for most of mankind were possessed of reason and everyone had views *(naẓar)* on the ways of religion. If the use of reason *(naẓar-i-'aql)* were sufficient for the knowledge of God, the members of no sect could raise objections against other sects and all would be equal, assuming that *(chi)* everyone was possessed of religion through the use of reason. But since it was open [for men] to object and repudiate and some felt the need to imitate others, this was nothing else but *(khud)* the doctrine *(mazhab)* of instruction *(ta'līm)* namely that reason was not sufficient and there had to be an Imam in order that in every age the people

[27] See above, p. 636, n. 75.

[28] For a translation of the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din see Levy, *The account of the Isma'ili doctrines in the* Jami' al-Tawarikh *of Rashid al-Din Fadlallah*, 534-6.

[29] See above, p. 646, n. 78.

[30] Lit. 'closed tight the door of teaching and learning'. On the doctrine of *ta'līm* see Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 51-61.

might be instructed and possessed of religion through his teaching.

And he fashioned several concise sentences which he used as the decoy for the snares of his deceit; and these he called *ilzam*.[31] The foolish and the vulgar thought these terse expressions were full of meaning. One of the most subtle of them was to ask his opponents whether reason was enough or not enough; because if [the reply was given that] reason sufficed for the knowledge of God, [this implied that] everyone being possessed of reason no one could object to anyone; and if his opponent said that reason was not sufficient and that in addition to the use of reason *(naẓar-i-'aql)* one also needed a teacher, this was simply his own doctrine.

Now in putting that question, *viz.* whether reason was enough or not enough, he implied that his own doctrine, which he was trying to affirm, was that instruction was necessary in conjunction with reason, and that the doctrine of his opponents was that instruction was not necessary in conjunction with reason. Now if instruction is not necessary it may be permissive *(jāyiz)* and assist the function of reason *(khirad rā mu'īn bāshad bar naẓar)*, or else it may not be permissive and reason have to be used alone [197], otherwise the knowledge of God cannot be attained. Now these are the two horns of a dilemma, and Hasan set himself to refute the second and then said that he had refuted their belief *(maẕhab)*. But it is not so, for the belief of the generality of mankind is that the existence of reason alone is not enough but reason must be employed in a special way, and instruction and guidance are of assistance to some of those possessed of reason, while others have no need thereof, though if instruction and guidance are available, there is no objection thereto. It is clear then that he has done nothing towards refuting the belief of the majority.

As for his statement that instruction is restricted to one specified person it requires proof and the only proof he provides are his words when he says: 'I have proved [the necessity for] instruction and since there is no other than I who speaks for instruction,

[31] Lit. 'compulsion'.

therefore the determination of the instruction is by my words.' Now this is palpably false: it is as though someone were to say: 'I say that such-and-such a person is Imam, and the proof thereof is that I say so.' If he says: 'The consensus of Moslem opinion *(ijmā')* is right; therefore, if my words be not true and I have refuted the words of others, then the Moslems are agreed upon what is false'—the reply to this argument is that the consensus of opinion in the case of the majority is right because of [its dependence upon] the Koran and the Traditions, and that in his case this is not so. Therefore for him to base his doctrine upon the consensus of opinion is to base it upon the words of his opponents and is of no profit to him. And apart from this he adduces no evidence for the designation of the Imam.

Again, he has said [198] that when the Prophet *(upon whom be peace!)* said: *'I was commanded to fight the people until they said: "There is no god but God,"'* he meant that they had to learn from him to say: *'There is no god but God'*—which is [the doctrine of] instruction. The reply to this is that it is inconsistent with the story of the old woman who, when they asked her about God, pointed to the sky. And the Prophet *(upon whom be peace!)* said: *'Let her be, for she is a believer.'* And he said also: *'Do ye adopt the religion of old women.'* He did not say to the old woman: 'Thou didst not learn the knowledge of God from me; thou art not a believer.' And again a Bedouin said: *'Is not Time God?'* And the Prophet *(upon whom be peace!)* said: *'Let him be, for he has said well.'* And there are further similar instances that could be adduced. However this book is not the place to refute false doctrines and uphold the True Faith; I therefore thought it best to restrict myself to the above. Such then was the nonsense which he expounded; whereof the outward form were snares of deceit and the inner meaning the wiles of [199] Iblis and the purpose of which was to prevent the use of reason and the acquisition of knowledge. *'Their hearts and their ears hath God sealed up; and over their eyes is a covering. For them, a severe chastisement!'* [32]

Hasan exerted every effort to capture the places adjacent to

[32] Koran, ii, 6.

Alamut or in that vicinity. Where possible he won them over by the tricks of his propaganda while such places as were unaffected by his blandishments he seized with slaughter, ravishment, pillage, bloodshed and war. He took such castles as he could and wherever he found a suitable rock he built a castle upon it.

Amongst the officers of Sultan Malik-Shah was an emir called Yürün-Tash,[33] [200] who held the district of Alamut as fief *(iqṭāʿ)*. He used constantly to attack [the country at] the foot of Alamut and massacre and lay waste wherever the people were Hasan's converts and subjects. Since as yet no stores had been laid up in Alamut the occupants were reduced to great distress and impotence and decided to hand over the castle to a few unencumbered *(jarīda)* men and themselves depart elsewhere. Hereupon Hasan-i-Sabbah claimed to have received a message from his Imam, i.e. Mustansir, to the effect that they should not quit that place because good fortune awaited them there. By means of this imposture he prevailed upon his followers to resign themselves to the endurance of hardships and remain on Alamut, which, on account of those words, they named *baladat-al-iqbal*.[34]

In the year 484/1091–2 he sent Husain of Qa'in, one of his *da'is*, to Quhistan to conduct propaganda there. A number of people were converted by him and they established themselves in one part of that country. A deputy [35] was then appointed to govern them on behalf of Hasan-i-Sabbah; and just as Hasan had proceeded in Alamut, so they too in Quhistan began to spread their propaganda and conquer the country around them by the fabrication of lies and the capture of castles.

[201] When the tale of his new heresy *(bid'at)* spread about and the injuries inflicted by his followers upon the Moslems became widely known, Sultan Malik-Shah, in the beginning of the year 485/1092, dispatched an emir called Arslan-Tash [36] to

[33] 'White Stone.' [34] 'The Town of Good Fortune.'

[35] *nā'ib*. Used perhaps here for the usual *muḥtasham* 'governor'. Cf. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 118, n. 50.

[36] 'Lion-Stone'.

expel and extirpate Hasan-i-Sabbah and all his followers. This emir sat down before Alamut in Jumada I of the said year [June–July, 1092]. At that time Hasan-i-Sabbah had with him on Alamut no more than 60 or 70 men; and they had but few stores. They lived on the little they had, a bare subsistence, and kept up the battle with the besiegers. Now one of Hasan's *da'is*, a man called Dihdar Bu-'Ali, who came from Zuvara [37] and Ardistan, had his residence in Qazvin, some of the inhabitants of which were his converts; as likewise in the district of Talaqan and Kuh-i-Bara [38] and the district of Ray many people believed in the Sabbahian propaganda; [202] and they all resorted to the man who had settled in Qazvin. Hasan-i-Sabbah now appealed to Bu-'Ali Dihdar for help, and he stirred up a host of people from Kuh-i-Bara and Talaqan and likewise sent arms and implements of war from Qazvin. Some 300 of these men came to the aid of Hasan-i-Sabbah. They threw themselves into Alamut and then with the assistance of the garrison and the support of some of the people of Rudbar, who were in league with them outside the castle, one night at the end of Sha'ban of that year [September–October, 1092], they made a surprise attack upon the army of Arslan-Tash. By divine preordination the army was put to flight and leaving Alamut returned to Malik-Shah.

Sultan Malik-Shah was much concerned at this defeat but persisted in the idea of extirpating that sect. However his life had drawn to its close and with his death the plans to exterminate those wretches were deferred and they were strengthened in their rebellion.

At the beginning of 485/1092 the Sultan had also sent another of his chief emirs called Ghizil-Sarigh [39] to expel the Heretics of Quhistan; and he had ordered the armies of Khorasan to follow and assist him. Ghizil-Sarigh besieged them in the

[37] Zuvāra was situated to the north-east of Ardistān in Central Persia.

[38] Identified by M.Q. with the Bara of Hamdallah (tr. le Strange, 209 and 210), i.e. the present-day Manjil at the confluence of the Shah-Rud and the Safid-Rud (Qizil-Uzan).

[39] 'Red-Yellow', from the Turkish *qïzïl* 'red' and *sarïgh* 'yellow'.

castle *(ḥiṣār)* of [203] Dara,[40] which is adjacent to Sist is one of the dependencies of Mu'minabad,[41] and joine with them. Before he could take the place, however, he r the news of Malik-Shah's death, whereupon he raised t' and his army dispersed. Like the people of Alamu people too stretched out the hand of tyranny and exten foot of oppression. As has been said:

> *O what a happy lark on cultivated land! The air is clear for thee, so lay thy eggs and whistle!* [42]

Now at the time when Hasan first rose in rebellion l al-Mulk Hasan b. 'Ali b. Ishaq of Tus *(may God have n him!)* was Malik-Shah's vizier. With his penetrating he beheld on the features of the actions wrought by H Sabbah [204] and his followers the signs of troubles ir and perceived therein the indications of disturbances; strove his hardest to excise the pus of the Sabbahian re and exerted every effort in equipping and dispatching tr suppress and subdue them.

Hasan-i-Sabbah spread the snare of artifices in order first opportunity to catch some splendid game, such as l al-Mulk, in the net of destruction and increase thereby h reputation. With the juggling of deceit and the tric falsehood, with absurd preparations and spurious decept he laid the basis of the *fida'is*. A person called Bu-Tahir, by name and by origin, was afflicted '*with the loss both world and of the next*',[44] and in his misguided striving aft in the world to come on the night of Friday the 12th of Ra 485 [16th of October, 1092] he went up to Nizam-al-

[40] The village of Dara lies to the south of Tabas and the south-east of I and there is still an old castle in the neighbouring hills. (M.Q.) Ha tr. le Strange, 144, describes Dara Castle as 'a very strong fortress; an summit of the hill within the castle is a spring of water'.

[41] The district of Mu'minābād lies a day's journey to the east of Bi

[42] From a poem also quoted above, p. 569.

[43] Perhaps a reference to the 'Paradise' described by Marco Polo. Se detto, 49–51.

[44] Koran, xxii, 11.

litter at a stage called Sahna[45] in the region of Nihavand. Nizam-al-Mulk, having broken the fast, was being borne in the litter from the Sultan's audience-place to the tent of his harem. Bu-Tahir who was disguised as a Sufi, stabbed him with a dagger and by that blow Nizam-al-Mulk was martyred. He was the first person to be killed by the *fida'is.*

Now when Hasan-i-Sabbah returned from Egypt he had gone to Isfahan. The report of his teachings, [205] his connection with the Batinis and the propaganda he conducted on their behalf had been spread abroad and those who were concerned for the griefs of Islam and religion sought to lay hands on him, and he therefore went into hiding. In Isfahan he entered the house of the *ra'is* Abul-Fazl, a secret convert of his, where he remained for some time; and whenever this *ra'is* came in to him they would talk together and discuss their troubles. One day, whilst bemoaning his lot and speaking of the fanatical attitude of the Sultan and his ministers, Hasan-i-Sabbah heaved a sigh and said: 'Alas! had I but two men of one mind with me I should turn this realm upside down.' The *ra'is* Abul-Fazl concluded that from much thought and fear and the undertaking of dangerous journeys Hasan had been attacked with melancholia, otherwise how could he imagine that with two persons of one mind he could turn upside down the realm of a monarch, in whose name the *khutba* was recited and coin struck from Egypt to Kashghar and under whose banner so many thousands of horse and foot could at one sign from him break up a whole world? He pondered over this and said to himself: 'He is not a man to boast or use extravagant language: there is no doubt that he is affected with a disease of the brain.' Acting on his belief he adopted the treatment for melancholia without telling Hasan. He prepared perfumed drinks and foods to fortify the constitution and moisten the brain such as are suitable for the sufferers from such a malady; and at the usual mealtime he laid this food and drink before him. As soon as Hasan saw it he knew what was in the *ra'is* Abul-Fazl's mind, and he

45 The present-day village of Sahna on the road between Bisutun in the West and Kangavar in the East and almost equidistant from both places. (M.Q.)

immediately prepared to depart. The *ra'is* begged and [206] pleaded with him but he refused to stay. It is said that he went to Kerman. Upon his return from thence he established himself in Alamut and caused Nizam-al-Mulk to be slain by his *fida'is*. 40 days later Sultan Malik-Shah himself died also, and the affairs of the realm were thrown into confusion and there was chaos in the provinces. Hasan seized his opportunity and his cause waxed strong: and those who had some reason for fear took refuge with him. The aforesaid *ra'is* Abul-Fazl sought an opportunity and went to Alamut, where he was enrolled amongst his followers. One day Hasan-i-Sabbah turned to him and said: 'Does it seem now that I had melancholia or thou? Thou hast seen that when I found two friends to help me I kept my word and proved my claim.' The *ra'is* Abul-Fazl fell at his feet and begged for forgiveness.[46]

Some time after the death of Nizam-al-Mulk two of his sons were also stabbed, one, whose name was Ahmad, in Baghdad --he became paralysed--[207] and Fakhr-al-Mulk in Nishapur. And from then onwards he used to cause the emirs, commanders and notables to be assassinated by his *fida'is* one after the other; and any one who opposed him in any way he would get rid of with this trick. To record the names of all these persons would take too long.

On this account the local rulers *(aṣḥāb-i-aṭrāf)*, near and far, were exposed to danger, whether their friends or their foes, and would fall into the whirlpool of destruction—their friends, because the kings of Islam would subdue and destroy them and they would suffer '*the loss of this world and the next*;'[47] while their foes for fear of his guile and treachery would flee into the cage of defence and precaution and [even so] were mostly killed.

When a quarrel broke out between Berk-Yaruq[48] and his brother Muhammad, the sons of Malik-Shah, and there was

[46] In Rashid-ad-Din's version Hasan-i-Sabbah's prophecy to Abul-Fazl had been made before his visit to Egypt. Juvaini's placing the story, 'where it fits in comfortably, after his return', is cited by Bowen, *op. cit.*, 775, as an example of his 'editing' of the *Sar-Guzasht*.

[47] Koran, xxii, 11.

[48] See above, i, 278, n. 9.

turmoil and confusion in the kingdom, the *ra'is* Muzaffar, the governor of Damghan, persuaded his superior, Amirdad Habashi, to ask Sultan Berk-Yaruq for the castle of Girdkuh; [208] and the Sultan granted his request. The *ra'is* Muzaffar then ascended Girdkuh as Habashi's lieutenant and expended large sums on repairing and fortifying the castle; after which he transported all his superior's treasuries thither. Being thus strengthened with stores and treasure he revealed the secret of his conversion to the propaganda of the New Heretic *(ṣāhib-bid'at)* and of his following the path of unbelief and infidelity; and for 40 years he lived there holding the castle for Hasan-i-Sabbah. He dug a well in the solid rock on the ramparts of Girdkuh; but having gone down 300 ells *(gaz)* without reaching water he abandoned it. Years after his death there was an earthquake, and a spring gushed out in that well.

With the assistance of the *ra'is* Muzaffar, who was an impregnable wall and a mighty evil, the cause of Hasan and his propaganda flourished. The occupants of the castle of Lammasar,[49] which is also in the Rudbar of Alamut, having refused to be converted he dispatched one of his companions *(rafiq)*,[50] a man called Kiya Buzurg-Umid with a band of Heretics; they climbed up by stealth in the night of the 24th of Zul-Qa'da, 495 [10th of September, 1102] and slew the inhabitants. Buzurg-Umid resided in that castle for 20 years and did not come down until he was summoned by Hasan.

Hasan-i-Sabbah had two sons, one of whom was called Ustad Husain. Now in the castle of Alamut there was an 'Alid called Zaid Hasani, who was secretly conducting propaganda on his own behalf and was on the point of putting an end to Hasan-i-Sabbah. And first he caused Husain of Qa'in, the *da'i* in Quhistan, to be slain by the hand of *Ahmad of Dunbavand. The murder of Husain of Qa'in was attributed to Hasan's son Ustad Husain, and Hasan ordered the execution both of his son

[49] The ruins of Lammasar (Lanbasar is another spelling) were visited by Miss Freya Stark in 1931. See Chapter IV ('The Assassins' Castle of Lamiasar') of *The Valleys of the Assassins*.

[50] See above, p. 639, n. 90.

and of Ahmad [210] of Dunbavand. A year later, ha learnt the true state of affairs, he put the 'Alid to death tog with a son that he had.

Now Hasan-i-Sabbah had founded his cause and his (*nāmūs*) upon asceticism, continence and '*the enjoying of righ ness and the forbidding of unrighteousness*', and during the 35 that he dwelt in Alamut nobody drank wine openly noi it in jars. Indeed such was his austerity that a certain p having played the flute in the castle he expelled him there and would not re-admit him. Now his other son, whose was Muhammad, was accused of drinking wine and he ord him to be put to death. And he used to point to the exec of both his sons as a reason against any one's imagining th had conducted propaganda on their behalf and had had object in mind.

In conformity with this law (*nāmūs*) it happened on an occasion, at the time of the siege,[51] that he sent his wife two daughters [211] to Girdkuh and wrote to the *ra'is* Muza 'Since these women work the spindle on behalf of our pi ganda, give them their needs as wages therefor.' And from time onwards their governors (*muḥtasham*), so long as they that office, would have no women with them.

And since the power of Hasan-i-Sabbah was continuall the increase, Sultan Muhammad, the son of Malik-Shah together armies to put an end to him and set Nizam-al-i Ahmad, the son of Nizam-al-Mulk, at the head of them. encompassed Alamut and Ustavand,[52] which is near to the banks of the Andij;[53] and they waged war for some and destroyed the crops. Then [212], being unable to acc plish more, the army departed from Rudbar. In their ca there was a great famine and the people lived on grass; ai was for this reason that they sent their wives and children where and he too sent his wife and daughters to Girc

[51] The eight years' siege referred to below.

[52] Ustāvand is completely unknown.

[53] A tributary of the Alamut river (whence Andīj-Rūd, the name sub-district).

For eight consecutive years the troops came to Rudbar and destroyed the crops, and the two sides were engaged in battle. When it was known that Hasan and his men were left without strength or food, [Sultan Muhammad], at the beginning of the year 511/1117–18, appointed the *atabeg* Nush-Tegin Shir-Gir as commander of the troops and ordered him to lay siege to the castles from then onwards. On the 1st of Safar [4th of June, 1117] they invested Lammasar and on the 11th of Rabi' I [13th of July] Alamut. Setting up their mangonels they fought strenuously and by Zul-Hijja of that year [March–April, 1118] were on the point of taking the castles and freeing mankind from their machinations, when they received news that Sultan Muhammad had died in Isfahan. The troops then dispersed, and the Heretics were left alive and dragged up into their castles all the stores, arms and implements of war assembled by the Sultan's army.

Now to every fortune there is a limit and to every cause a term, which has been fixed by God Almighty in His perfect knowledge and power [213] at the beginning of time, and until the appointed hour is come abundant strength and gear and equipment will accomplish nothing. And the proof of this is that the conquest of these castles and the destruction thereof was dependent on the rising of the fortune of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an and was executed by the power, majesty and action of his brother, the World-King Hülegü, who in one week utterly and finally overthrew the whole of their abodes and dwelling places, and they became like [those cities which] '*We turned upside down*',[64] as shall be hereinafter described.

Because of his nephew's enmity Sultan Sanjar was unable to deal with the Heretics and they recovered their strength; but when he had restored the kingdom to order he sought to put an end to them and began by sending an army into Quhistan. Hostilities continued for years; Hasan-i-Sabbah would send ambassadors to seek peace but his offers were not accepted. He then by all manner of wiles bribed certain of the Sultan's courtiers [214] to defend him before the Sultan; and he suborned one

[64] Koran, xi, 84.

of his eunuchs *(khādim)* with a large sum of money and sent him a dagger, which was stuck in the ground beside the Sultan's bed one night when he lay in drunken sleep. When the Sultan awoke and saw the dagger he was filled with alarm but not knowing whom to suspect he ordered the matter to be kept secret. Hasan-i-Sabbah then sent a messenger with the following message: 'Did I not wish the Sultan well that dagger which was struck into the hard ground would have been planted in his soft breast.' The Sultan took fright and from then on inclined towards peace with them. In short, because of this imposture the Sultan refrained from attacking them and during his reign their cause prospered. He allowed them a pension *(idrār)* of 3,000 dinars from the taxes on the lands belonging to them in the region of Qumish and also permitted them to levy a small toll on travellers passing beneath Girdkuh, a custom which has survived to this day. I saw several of Sanjar's firmans *(manshūr)* which had been preserved in their library and in which he conciliated and flattered them; and from these I was able to deduce the extent to which the Sultan connived at their actions [215] and sought to be on peaceful terms with them. In short, during his reign they enjoyed ease and tranquillity.

It was during the Sultan's reign, in the month of Rabi' II, 518 [May–June, 1124], that Hasan-i-Sabbah fell ill. He sent someone to Lammasar to fetch Buzurg-Umid and appointed him his successor. And he made Dihdar Abu-'Ali of Ardistan [sit] on his right and entrusted him in particular with the propaganda chancery (? *da'vat-dīvān*);[55] Hasan son of Adam of Qasran he made [sit] on his left and Kiya Ba-Ja'far, who was the commander of his forces, in front of him. And he charged them, until such time as the Imam came to take possession of his kingdom, to act all four in concert and agreement. And in the night of Wednesday the 6th[56] of Rabi' II, 518 [Friday,

[55] The passage is obscure. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 118–19, takes it to mean that Abu-'Ali was put in charge of finance.

[56] An alternative reading is the 26th Rabi' II, i.e. the 12th June, a Thursday, only one day out. This seems more likely. Isma'ili dates, so Professor Bernard Lewis informs me, were often one day out since they used an astronomical calendar.

23rd of May, 1124], he hastened off '*to the fire of God and His hell*'.

As has been previously mentioned, from the day Hasan first went up into the castle of Alamut until he departed this world, that is to say, for a period of 35 years, he never descended therefrom and he only twice came out of the house *(sarāi)* in which he lived. On these two occasions he went up on the roof.

[216] The rest of his time he passed inside his house, fasting and praying, reading books, committing the doctrines of his Heresy to writing and administering the affairs of his kingdom. It is related of Sabi [57] that at the time when he was compiling the *Ta'rikh-i-Taji,* a friend inquired as to what he was engaged in, and he replied: '*Stringing together lies and embellishing vanities.*'

An idle tale, O mother of 'Amr! [58]

Succeeding Hasan-i-Sabbah together with his companions Buzurg-Umid for a space of 20 years pursued those same [217] customs and practices of his master and strengthened that edifice which was built '*on the brink of an undermined bank.*' [59] And it being still the reign of Sanjar there was no one who strove to uproot their castles and demolish their dwelling-places.

Now at that time there was a quarrel between the Commander of the Faithful al-Mustarshid billah [60] and Sultan Mas'ud the Seljuq, who governed Iraq, Arran and Azerbaijan as viceroy to his uncle Sultan Sanjar. In those days in reading the *khutba* in Baghdad it was customary, as in the times of the Buyids, to mention after the name of the Caliph that of the paramount Sultan; and there had been no mention from the pulpits of the name of Sultan Mas'ud. It was therefore his firm intention to make an attack on Baghdad. Wishing to forestall him al-Mustarshid billah [advanced against him] at the head of [218] a large army. He had approached Hamadan when Sultan

[57] On this historian, Abū-Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl as-Sābi' († 994), and his work (a history of the Buyids), see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 8.

[58] The second half of a *bait* by 'Abdallah b. az-Ziba'rā, a famous poet contemporary with the Prophet. (M.Q.)

[59] Koran, ix, 110.

[60] 1118–35.

Mas'ud came up from the other side with an army of his own. Some of the troops from Baghdad deserted and joined the Sultan's army, with the result that the Caliph's army was weakened whilst the Sultan's doubled its size. Their opponents were defeated; al-Mustarshid billah fell into the Sultan's hands; and his vizier and all his ministers were likewise captured. Sultan Mas'ud ordered his troops to harm no one but to content themselves with booty and pillage. And in this encounter not more than five persons perished on either side.

Although he imprisoned his ministers in a castle Sultan Mas'ud treated the Caliph himself with respect. He accompanied him to Maragha and sent a messenger to his uncle, Sultan Sanjar, to report the news. It so happened that in those days there was a constant succession of earthquakes and thunderbolts, and violent winds threw the world in turmoil; and everyone attributed all this to that same event. Sultan Sanjar sent messengers and wrote a letter to Sultan Mas'ud to the following effect: 'When my child Mas'ud Ghiyas-ad-Din has seen this edict let him at once proceed to the Commander of the Faithful and after kissing the dust of the audience-hall, [219] which is the asylum of all the world, let him crave fair pardon for the crimes and misdemeanours which are the result of desertion [by God] and seek forgiveness for the faults he has committed; and let him know that the falling of so many thunderbolts and the blowing of violent winds such as no one has experienced the like in this age and which have now continued for 20 days—these things I consider to have been caused by that event and I fear lest from this disturbance the armies and the people be thrown into confusion. By God! let him see fit to make amends, let him regard it as his bounden duty!'

From this incident one can form an idea of Sultan Sanjar's piety and the orthodoxy of his beliefs.

In obedience to this command Sultan Mas'ud went to the Commander of the Faithful and after tendering his excuses and apologies and confessing his sins and crimes he begged forgiveness. And in order to acquire merit he picked up the Caliph's saddle-cloth and walked in front of his horse to the pavilion he

had prepared for him. The Commander of the Faithful seated himself on the throne and Sultan Mas'ud took his stand amongst the chamberlains *(ḥujjāb)* and deputies *(nuvvāb)*.

Sultan Sanjar now sent another messenger to say that the Commander of the Faithful was perhaps thinking of returning to the Abode of Peace and in that case Sultan Mas'ud should make such preparations as were worthy of so great a Majesty. And to make this announcement Sultan Sanjar sent as his messenger to Sultan Mas'ud a trustworthy person who was one of his closest favourites. [220] Sultan Mas'ud mounted horse to go and meet the messenger, and a band of accursed *fida'is* and Heretics having bided their time till the pavilion was empty of troops suddenly entered and stabbed the Commander of the Faithful, it being the 17th of Zul-Qa'da, 529 [29th of August, 1135]. Sultan Mas'ud was greatly distressed. He held a great ceremony of mourning such as was worthy of either party, and the Caliph was buried inside Maragha.

Some of the more short-sighted and ill-wishers to the House of Sanjar accused them of responsibility for this act. But '*the astrologers lied, by the Lord of the Ka'ba!*' The goodness of Sultan Sanjar's character and the purity of his nature as instanced in his following and strengthening the Hanafite faith and the Shari'at, his respect for all that related to the Caliphate as also his mercy and compassion are [221] too plain and evident for the like false and slanderous charges to be laid against his person, which was the source of clemency and the fountain-head of pity. However, '*one thing leads to other*' and we have finished what we had to say.

Buzurg-Umid remained seated on the throne of Ignorance ruling over Error until the 26th of Jumada I, 532 [9th of February, 1138], when he was crushed under the heel of Perdition and Hell was heated with the fuel of his carcase.

His son, Muhammad, whom he had made his heir only three days before his death, followed in his footsteps by virtue of the words: '*Verily, we found our fathers with a religion.*'[61] As the last baneful act of the father was to kill Mustarshid so was his own

[61] Koran, xliii, 22.

first iniquitous act to kill Mustarshid's son, ar-Rashid billah.[62] And the reason for this was as follows.

When Rashid succeeded to the Caliphate some wished to depose him while others persisted in their allegiance to him. After several times going to war with Sultan Mas'ud he set out from Baghdad to attack the Heretics and avenge his father's blood. He fell sick upon the way and in that enfeebled state arrived in Isfahan. Suddenly some vile *fida'is* entered his audience-chamber and stabbed him to death. He was buried on the spot. From that time onwards the 'Abbasid Caliphs went into hiding and concealed themselves from the people.

Muhammad, son of Buzurg-Umid, following the doctrines of Hasan-i-Sabbah and his father, strove to strengthen the foundations thereof and continued to comply with the customs of Islam and observe the law of God in the manner they had declared [222] until the 3rd of Rabi' I, 557 [20th of February, 1162] when he passed away and joined those '*that have lost their labour most, whose aim in the present life hath been mistaken, and who deem that what they do is right*'.[63]

[XIII]

OF THE BIRTH OF HASAN, THE SON OF MUHAMMAD, THE SON OF BUZURG-UMID

HASAN was born in the year 520/1126–7. When he had nearly approached the age of discretion he conceived the desire to study and examine the teachings of Hasan-i-Sabbah and his own forefathers; and he closely scrutinized the text *(sukhan)* of the Propaganda in the Sabbahian manner and making use of the same *ilzamat*.[1] And so he came to excel in the exposition of their creed. And having mingled such sayings with Sufistic homilies *(mavā'iẓ)* and subtleties *(nikat)* and poured his own

[62] 1135–6. He had been deposed in favour of his uncle, Muqtafi (1136–60), two years before his assassination.

[63] Koran, xviii, 103–4.

[1] I.e. 'compelling arguments'. See above, p. 672 and n. 31.

interpretations, lavishly or sparingly, into the same mould, he was constantly, during the life-time of his father Muhammad, uttering moral sentences and the like such as the vulgar and immature would marvel at upon the first hearing (which is called '*the stupid hearing*') [223] and so commending that propaganda; and with the courtesy of his manner and the eloquence of his words he won over the greater part of that people. Now his father being altogether lacking in that art, his son, with all these adornments and embellishments, appeared a great scholar beside him, and therefore the benightedness of the people of ignorance waxed greater still and the vulgar sought to follow his lead. [224] And not having heard the like discourses *(maqālāt)* from his father they began to think that here was the Imam that had been promised by Hasan-i-Sabbah. The people's attachment to him increased and they made haste to follow him as their leader.

His father, Muhammad, learnt of this state of affairs and became aware of what the people were thinking. He was rigid in his observance of the principles laid down by his father and Hasan with regard to the conduct of propaganda on behalf of the Imam and the outward observance of Moslem practices; and he considered his son's behaviour to be inconsistent with those principles. He therefore denounced him roundly and having assembled the people spoke as follows: 'This Hasan is my son, and I am not the Imam but one of his *da'is*. Whoever listens to these words and believes them is an infidel *(kāfir)* and atheist *(bi-dīn)*.' And on these grounds he punished some who had believed in his son's Imamate with all manner of tortures and torments, and on one occasion put 250 persons to death on Alamut and then binding their corpses on the backs of 250 others condemned on the same charge he expelled these latter from the castle. And in this way they were discouraged and suppressed.

Hasan himself became apprehensive of the consequences and being in dread of his father he compiled treatises in which he asserted his innocence of such a charge *(ḥavālat)*, denied his holding of those tenets, [225] and chid and cursed the people

who professed such beliefs. And he went to great pains to refute these doctrines and to uphold and confirm the beliefs of his father and to this end compiled tracts of which the words are well-known to this very day amongst that people.

Hasan used secretly to drink wine. His father had some inkling of this and went to great pains to discover the truth. Hasan made use of all sorts of devices to free himself from the charge; and in the end his father's suspicions were dispelled.

Now their irreligious and shameless followers, who had almost discarded the practice of the Shari'at, regarded the committing of sins and the drinking of wine as a sign of the appearance of the promised Imam. When therefore Hasan succeeded his father his followers and supporters went to every extreme to show him honour because of their beliefs regarding him, whom they considered to be the Imam. He for his part, his authority now being absolute, did not rebuke or punish them for uttering such nonsense, nay in the first days after his accession he began to abolish or modify lawful practices and Islamic usages which had been observed from the times of Hasan-i-Sabbah. [226] And in Ramazan of the year 559 [July–August, 1164] he ordered a pulpit to be constructed on an open space at the foot of Alamut in such a way that the *qibla* should be in the opposite direction to what is the custom of Islam. And when the 17th of Ramazan [8th of August] came round he commanded the inhabitants of his provinces, whom he had summoned to Alamut, to assemble on that open space. Four great standards with the four colours, white, red, green and yellow, which had been procured for that purpose, were attached to the four pillars of the pulpit. Then mounting the pulpit he indicated to those bewildered wretches, who under his misguidance were proceeding in the direction of perdition and destruction, that from their reprobate leader, that is the imaginary Imam, who was non-existent, someone had come to him in secret bringing, to use their language, a *khutba* and a scroll *(sijill)* regarding the observance of their corrupt faith. And standing on that wrongly placed pulpit he delivered a discourse on the subject of his own false and distorted beliefs. Their Imam, he said, had opened the door of mercy and the

gates of his compassion to the Moslems and to them also and had sent them [a token of his] pity; he had summoned his special chosen servants and had relieved them of the duties, burdens and charges [277] of the Shari'at and brought them to the Resurrection. He then read out a *khutba* in the Arabic tongue in which not only were the contents nothing but lies and falsehoods and a patchwork of absurdities but the language itself, for the most part, broken, corrupt and full of gross mistakes and confused expressions; and these, he claimed, were the unknown words of their non-existent Imam.

One of his ignorant, misguided followers, a wretch who had some knowledge of Arabic,[2] had been placed by Hasan on the steps of the pulpit to translate this wicked nonsense and these iniquitous words and expound them in Persian to those present. The purport of the *khutba* was as follows: 'Hasan, son of Muhammad, son of Buzurg-Umid, is our Caliph, *hujjat* and *da'i*.[3] And our sect *(shi'a)* must obey and follow him in all spiritual and temporal matters, and regard his command as binding, and deem his word our word, and know that Maulana, *(dust in their mouths!)*,[4] has had pity on them, and called them to his mercy, and brought them to God.'[5]

And he read out such deceitful vanities, and fraudulent subtleties, and lying infamies and godless obscenities as were both unknown to the law of God and unacceptable to reason.

[228] His frigid delivery and unconvincing declamation of the *khutba* completed Hasan descended from the pulpit, performed two of the prostrations of the festival[6] prayer and, a table having been laid, invited the people to break the fast, which they did

[2] This was the jurist (*faqih*) Muhammad Busti. See Ivanow, *Kalami Pir*, 117.

[3] 'In the declaration at Alamût he is dâ'î (like Buzurg'ummîd and his son), hujja (like Hasan-i Sabbâh), and Caliph, or representative of the imâm who is sending him the message.' (Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 151.) On *hujjat* see above, p. 646, n. 27.

[4] An ejaculation on the part of Juvaini. I.e. 'curse them for their blasphemy!' Cf. above, p. 640.

[5] On the proclamation of the Qiyāma or Resurrection see Ivanow, *op. cit.*, 60 and 116–17, Corbin, *Kitāb-e Jâmi' al-Hikmatain*, 22–3, Hodgson, *op. cit.*, 148–51.

[6] I.e. the *'id-al-fitr* prayer. See above, p. 600, n. 166.

surrounded by the ministers to sport and the instruments of forbidden pleasures, giving vent to their joy and mirth as on the occasion of festivals. And Hasan said: 'To-day is a feast-day.' And ever since that time the Heretics *(may what are left of them receive their deserts!)* used to call the 17th of Ramazan 'the Festival of the Resurrection', and most of them would drink wine avidly on that day and openly indulge in sport and pleasure; and by the like shamelessness and by even more disgraceful acts those ignorant wretches would seek to disgust and annoy the Moslems who had the misfortune to dwell in their midst.

And I am not one of them though I live in their midst,
but the soil is a gold-mine.[7]

Now the ugly-natured Hasan, the witless seducer of men, had declared in the midst of the aforementioned discourse and *khutba* that he was *hujjat* and *da'i* on behalf of the Imam, i.e. his sole viceregent and deputy,[8] whereas in actual fact he was the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, because on the gates of their castles and fortresses, in the inscriptions on the walls and in the titles of his writings [229] he everywhere used to write: 'Hasan, son of Muhammad, son of Buzurg-Umid.' But afterwards it was as in the case of the other words and deeds of those misguided fools, which are nought but lies and fabrications—as the proverb has it: '*He secretly sips [the milk] while drinking the froth.*' In the baseless treatises that he wrote and in his exposition of his clumsy creed he would sometimes insinuate and sometimes explicitly assert that though in appearance he had been considered to be the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, he was in fact an Imam and the son of an Imam, a descendant of Nizar, the son of Mustansir.

Thus, when he sent word of the Propaganda with the sign[9] which they call 'the Propaganda of the Resurrection', to Quhistan and asked for that abomination to be propagated there also, this claim was explicitly made. It happened as follows.

[7] Mutanabbi. (M.Q.) [8] See above, p. 689, n. 3.

[9] Perhaps the four standards mentioned above, p. 688. (M.Q.)

The governor of Quhistan, who was his deputy in that country, was called the *ra'is* Muzaffar. The *khutba*, scroll and discourse previously mentioned were sent to him by Hasan by the hand of a person called Muhammad, the son of Khaqan, to be read out to the people there. And through the mouth of [230] that person he gave a message to the inhabitants of Quhistan in keeping with the above-mentioned lies.

On the 28th of Zul-Qa'da, 559 [18th of October, 1164], in the castle that was the fountain-head of their infidelity and heresy and which was called Mu'minabad,[10] the *ra'is* Muzaffar set up a pulpit directed away from the direction of righteousness and towards the quarter of iniquity, just as his disgraceful Imam had done in Alamut. Then mounting this pulpit he read out the *khutba*, scroll and discourse that had been sent to him, after which Muhammad, the son of Khaqan, ascended on to the second step of the pulpit and delivered Hasan's oral message, which was to this effect: 'Mustansir formerly sent a message to Alamut that God Almighty always had a vicar *(khalifa)* amongst men and this vicar had his own vicar. He, Mustansir, was then vicar and Hasan-i-Sabbah was his vicar. If the people would obey Hasan and follow him, they would have obeyed him, Mustansir. And now to-day I, Hasan, say that I am vicar of God on the face of the earth and this *ra'is* Muzaffar is my vicar. You must obey his command and consider whatever he says to be your duty.'

And that day on which these ignominies were divulged and these evils proclaimed in that nest of heretics, Mu'minabad,[10] that assembly played harp and rebeck and openly drank wine upon the very steps of that pulpit and within its precincts.

Now these inglorious fools [231] and false wretches have two traditions, nay they are in error in two ways regarding the worthless birth and empty genealogy of the reprobate Hasan, who was in truth an accursed idol and whose descent they trace back to a supposititious Imam sprung, as they seek to show with a faulty pedigree, from the race of Nizar. '*What is founded on absurdity must be absurd.*' However, the better known tradition and the

[10] See above, p. 676, n. 41. Lit. 'the Abode of True Believers'.

one more widely believed amongst them is the following, according to which they have not shrunk from branding him a bastard and agree in saying that there was a person from Egypt called the Cadi Abul-Hasan Sa'idi, a close kinsman and confidant of Mustansir, who, in the year 488/1095, i.e. a year after Mustansir's death, came to Hasan-i-Sabbah in Alamut, remained there for 6 months and in Rajab of the same year [July–August, 1095] returned to Egypt. And Hasan-i-Sabbah gave strict charges that he should be treated with honour and respect and went to great pains so to treat him. And he brought to Alamut, in the garb of disguise and the dress of concealment, a grandson of Nizar, who was one of their Imams; but he told that secret to none but Hasan-i-Sabbah and it was not divulged. And they caused him to dwell in a village at the foot of Alamut. By reason of [232] a dispensation made in Eternity Past, whereby the abode of the Imamate was to be transferred from Egypt to the land of Dailam and the revelation of that shame which they call 'the Propaganda of the Resurrection', was to take place in Alamut, that same person from Egypt[11] or else his son who was born in the neighbourhood of Alamut—for they are not informed of the truth of the matter—committed adultery with the wife of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, and she became pregnant with Hasan by the Imam. And when his ill-omened birth occurred in the house of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, both Muhammad himself and his followers thought him to be Muhammad's son, whereas he was actually an Imam and the son of an Imam.

This is the better known tradition and the one more generally accepted amongst them as the more correct and authentic version; [233] and yet it is based upon all manner of shame and ignominy. In the first place the young man whose Imamate they admitted was a bastard and the offspring of an adulterous union. As the poet says:

When the eye rests with pleasure on bastards and the
qualities of base churls are good . . .

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[11] I.e. the grandson of Nizar. (M.Q.)

In the second place the false genealogy which they have established for him runs counter to the tradition of the Elect Prophet *(God bless him and give him peace!)*: *'The child to the blanket and stones upon the adulterer!' God's Apostle spoke truly,*

for the words were what Hadham spake.[12]

And thirdly—and this is the supreme catastrophe and the occasion of misery and ruin in the life to come—wishing to patch up this faulty tradition they drew an analogy with the prophets sent by God and imputed this same spurious condition to those holy men, claiming that Hasan's lineage was as the lineage of Zabih-Allah Ishmael, the son of Khalil-Allah Abraham[13] *(God's blessing on them both!)*, who was really son of that Malik-as-Salam who is mentioned in the Torah under the name of Melchizedec, as has already been stated in these pages;[14] Ishmael, according to the belief of this misguided sect, being one of their Imams and only apparently the son of Abraham *(on whom God's blessings!)*. And according to this claim of theirs Ishmael was an Imam but not Abraham.

The other tradition, [234] that accepted by the descendants and kinsfolk of Buzurg-Umid, i.e. the leading men of the region of Alamut, is that Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, had a son in the castle of Alamut and on the same day this Hasan was born of his mother to that unknown Imam, who did not exist, in a village at the foot of Alamut. Three days later a woman went up to the castle of Alamut and entered the house *(sarāi)* of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid. Several persons noticed that she had something under her *chadur*. She sat down in the place where Muhammad's child had been laid to sleep and by divine predestination there was no one else about. She put this Hasan, the Imam's son, in the other child's place

[12] The second half of a famous *bait* by Juyan b. Ṣa'b or Wasim b. Ṭāriq, of which the first half runs as follows:

'If Ḥadhām spake they believed her . . .' (M.Q.)

[13] Khalīl-Allāh ('the Friend of God') and Ẕabīḥ-Allāh or Dhabīḥ-Allāh ('the Victim of God') are the Moslem titles of Abraham and Ishmael respectively. Cf. above, p. 647, n. 32.

[14] See above, p. 646 and n. 29.

and then taking the other child, i.e. Muhammad's son, under her *chadur* she carried it away.

This version of the tradition is even more discreditable than the first—that a strange woman should enter a king's palace, where there was no one about the king's child, substitute a strange child for the young prince and carry the latter off without anyone's noticing; and that the parents, nurses, servants and attendants should not perceive the difference between the strange child and their own! This version is without doubt the result of the pride of reason, the denial of feeling and the defiance of custom and habit. In support of it it is related of Muhammad, the son of this Hasan, that he said: 'The filial relationship of Hasan to Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, is like that of Ishmael to Abraham *(peace on them both!)*. The only difference is that Abraham knew that Ishmael was the son of the Imam, and not his own, because [235] the exchange of sons took place with his knowledge and consent, and that secret was not hidden from him; whereas Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, did not know this secret and thought Hasan, who was the Imam, to be his own son.'

Those who held the other belief and the former tradition said that after the birth of the child, Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, realized that it was not his and that the person whom this misguided sect supposed to be the Imam had committed adultery with his wife; and he secretly put that person to death. On this supposition Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, killed the Imam.

As we have previously mentioned Muhammad had tightened the belt of rigour and severity in enforcing the customs of Islam and applying the principles of the Shari'at to the creed of Hasan-i-Sabbah, which is the essence of ignominy.

[On this account] they were ill disposed towards him and most of them cursed him; and they would allow [15] no pilgrimage to his grave, which lay next to those of Hasan-i-Sabbah, Buzurg-Umid and Bu-'Ali of Ardistan. [236] And again [16] the

[15] I substitute the past tense for the present, as the sense seems to require.

[16] I.e. as in the case of the Musta'lawis and the Nizaris. See above, p. 662.

Heretics in general *(may God abandon them!)* divided into two parties, this time as to the number of generations between this Hasan and Nizar. Some said that there were three generations between them, and they had to call them by their titles as Imams, because, as they said, their names were unknown, whereas in fact they were, as the saying is, names without substance. His lineage was, then, according to this party as follows: Hasan, the son of al-Qahir bi-Quwwat-Allah, the son of al-Muhtadi, the son of al-Hadi, the son of al-Mustafa Nizar, the son of al-Mustansir. The other party said there were but two generations between them because al-Qahir bi-Quwwat-Allah was Hasan's own title and they gave the line of descent as follows: Hasan, the son of al-Muhtadi, [237] the son of al-Hadi, the son of Nizar.

In the ordinary speech of the Heretics Hasan was known as 'Ala Zikrihi 's-Salam,[17] and originally, and as first applied to him, this title was an invocation which in his days they used to say to one another, and afterwards it became a well-known title of his and he was called nothing else.

Now the essence of this futile creed and the secret of this wholly evil propaganda was that following the Philosophers they spoke of the world as being uncreated *(qadīm)* and Time as unlimited and the Resurrection as spiritual. And they explained paradise and hell '*and all that is therein*' in such a way as to give a spiritual meaning to these concepts *(vujūh)*. And then on the basis of this they said that the Resurrection is when men shall come to God and the mysteries and truths of all Creation be revealed, and acts of obedience abolished, for in this world all is action and there is no reckoning, but in the world to come all is reckoning and there is no action. And this is the spiritual [Resurrection] and the Resurrection promised and awaited in all religions and [238] creeds is this, which was revealed by Hasan. And as a consequence hereof men have been relieved of the duties imposed by the Shari'at because in this period of the Resurrection they must turn in every sense towards God and abandon the rites of religious law and established habits of

[17] *'alā dhikrihi 's-salām* 'peace be on his mention'.

worship. It was laid down in the Shari'at that men must worship God five times a day and be with Him. That charge was only formal *(ẓāhir)*, but now in [the days of] the Resurrection they must always be with God in their hearts and keep the faces of their souls constantly turned in the direction of the Divine Presence, for such is true prayer.

In the like manner they interpreted all the principles of the Shari'at and all the practices of Islam and held the former observance thereof as abrogated; and for the most part they abolished [the concept of] lawful and unlawful. Hasan had said on several occasions, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly, that just as in the period of the Shari'at, if a man did not obey and worship but complied with the ordinance of the Resurrection to consider obedience and worship as spiritual, he was chastised, and punished, and stoned; so likewise, if in the period of the Resurrection a man complied with the ordinance of the Shari'at and was assiduous in the practice of material worship and other such rites, it was even more necessary that he should be punished, and put to death, and stoned and chastised.[18] And he uttered further nonsense and absurdities in the same strain.

And following this road of seduction, and incitement, and negation, and temptation those miserable wretches were plunged in the sea of Error and astray in the desert of Perplexity. And '*having lost this world and the next*'[19] they came finally to practise libertinism *(ibāḥat)*, and some of the extremists among them adopted it as their creed, and some of them (dust in their mouths!) accorded divinity to their misguided Imams, who were lower in degree than brute beasts or vermin.

When they saw fit to reveal this new heresy *(bid'at va ilḥād)* some [239] of the inhabitants of that region, who had some share of reason and on whose minds there still fell some rays of the light of discernment, recited [the proverb:] '*Whoever escapes*

[18] The translation of these chapters on the Isma'ilis which Defrémery incorporated in two articles in the *Journal Asiatique*—for details see the Bibliography—breaks off at this point.

[19] Koran, xxii, 11.

with his head has gained thereby.' And they gave up dwelling among those misguided people and secretly and openly began to pour into the lands of the Moslems, especially from Quhistan, from which country great quantities of people emigrated and settled down in Khorasan. '*Thus is it binding on Us to deliver the faithful.*'[20] Others who were unable or unwilling to quit their ancient dwelling-places remained in possession of their homes, and lands, and property and in their wretchedness were fain to bear the name and infamy of Heresy, but yet in their hearts were Moslems and, wherever they could, secretly obeyed the commands and prohibitions of the Shariʿat. And thus the general condition of the people in the countries of the Heretics *(may God abandon them!)* was as in the following verse of the Glorious Koran: '*Some of them We guided aright; but many were evildoers.*'[21]

Because of this false compact and counterfeit coin Hasan, the son of Muhammad, the son of Buzurg-Umid, whom they called ʿAla Zikrihi 's-Salam, was called Lord *(qā'im)* of the Resurrection and his propaganda the Resurrection.

Now amongst those to the nostrils of whose hearts there still came some scent of piety and religion was a brother-in-law of Hasan's called Hasan, the son of Namavar, one of the last survivors of the Buyids, whose original home was in the district of Dailaman, as is recorded in works of history.[22] This man was unable to endure the propagation of those shameful errors. *God have mercy on him and reward him for the goodness of his intention!* On Sunday the 6th of Rabiʿ I, 561 [9th of January, 1166], he stabbed the seducer Hasan in the castle of Lammasar, and he departed from this world '*unto God's burning fire*'.

[240] His son, Muhammad by name, whom the departed wretch had placed in charge of their Error and, according to their belief, had designated Imam, was 19 years old when he succeeded his father. '*Darkness upon darkness.*'[23] He put to death by torture Hasan, the son of Namavar, and all his kinsfolk,

[20] *Ibid.*, x, 103.
[21] *Ibid.*, lvii, 26.
[22] See above, p. 659, n. 4.
[23] Koran, xxiv, 40

men, women and children, all that was left of the Buyids in that country, and wiped out the race of Buya.[24]

This man, Muhammad, i.e. *praiseworthy*,[25] in name but blameworthy in deed, was more extreme than his father in proclaiming the heresy *(bid'at)* which they called the Propaganda of the Resurrection, of which libertinism *(ibāḥat)* was a necessary consequence, and more explicit in laying claim to the Imamate. He also professed a knowledge of philosophy although completely ignorant of that and all other sciences. He would insert expressions taken from the philosophers in the inelegant treatises that he wrote and the incoherent principles to which he gave utterance and by the introduction of subtle points in their manner would seek to parade his learning. *The Prophet (blessings and peace upon him!) hath said: 'He that adorneth himself with what* [241] *is not his own is like one who weareth false garments.'* His expressions and language in his remarks on Arabic style, philosophy, exegesis, Traditions, proverbs and poetry—for he pretended to a knowledge of all these things—were full of corruptions, absurdities, mistakes and mis-spellings.

In accordance with the text of God's revelation: *'He will leave them distraught in their wanderings,'* [26] he was granted a respite of 46 years as ruler. During his reign the Heretics shed much innocent blood. They stirred up troubles, committed iniquities, and perpetrated acts of robbery and brigandage; and persisted in the evil of heresy and strengthened the foundations of infidelity.

Muhammad had two sons, of whom the elder, Hasan, was called by the title of Jalal-ad-Din. He was born in the year 562/1166–7. During his childhood [242] his father had designated him as his successor. When he grew up and showed signs of intelligence, he rejected his father's creed and felt disgusted with the customs of heresy and libertinism *(ibāḥat)*. His father having guessed what his feelings were, a sort of hostility sprang up between them and they were apprehensive and mistrustful of one another. Whenever there was a levee or general assembly and Jalal-ad-Din wished to enter the audience-chamber,

[24] The eponymous ancestor of the Buyids.

[25] The literal meaning of Muhammad.

[26] Koran, vii, 185.

his father used to be on his guard against him and uneasy about him, and used to wear armour under his clothes. And certain Heretics, who were persons on whom he could rely as being extremists in their interpretation of the propaganda of error, he kept ever in attendance upon him to protect him from any plot that his son might hatch.

Now Jalal-ad-Din Hasan, whether because of the orthodoxy of his beliefs or because of his hostility towards his father *('and God knows best what is in men's minds, for men themselves judge from externals, but God hath charge of the inmost heart; therefore let him be praised or blamed according to his deserts')*, conspired against Muhammad and sent secretly to the Caliph of Baghdad and the sultans and rulers of other lands to claim that, unlike his father, he was by faith a Moslem and that when his turn came to reign he would abolish the Heresy and re-introduce the observance of Islam. And in this fashion he paved the way and made preparations [for the future].

The unpraiseworthy [27] Muhammad and reprobate leader died on the 10th of Rabi' I, 607 [1st of September, 1210]; and some say that he was poisoned.

[243] He was succeeded by his son Jalal-ad-Din Hasan, the heir-apparent. From the very moment of his accession Jalal-ad-Din professed Islam, and severely rebuked his people and party for their adherence to the Heresy, and strictly forbade them continuing therein, urging them to adopt Islam and follow the rites of the Shari'at. He sent messengers to the Caliph of Baghdad, Muhammad Khorazm-Shah and the *maliks* and emirs of Iraq and elsewhere to notify them of these changes; and because of his having prepared the way during his father's lifetime by announcing his position to them all, they now believed his word, especially in Baghdad, where a decree *(hukm)* was issued confirming his conversion to Islam, and all manner of favours were shown to him: a correspondence was opened with him and he was addressed with titles of honour. And because of this happy turn of events *fatwas* were written in all the countries of Islam concerning his and his people's conversion to Islam

27 See above, p. 698, n. 25.

and sanctioning intercourse and marriage with him. He became known as Jalal-ad-Din the Neo-Moslem and during his reign his followers were called Neo-Moslems.

He gave orders for the building of mosques in his territories and sent for doctors of the canon law from Khorasan and Iraq, whom he treated with honour and respect and who were then engaged as cadis, preachers and other religious officials throughout his kingdom.

The people of Qazvin at first refused to accept Jalal-ad-Din and his followers as Moslems. This was because of their piety and the strictness of their faith and also because, owing to their proximity to the Heretics, they were only too well aware of their fabrications and frauds; they had suffered pain and hurt at their hands, there had been battles between the two sides and the hostility between them was deep-rooted. Consequently their cadis and imams [244] made investigations, and held deliberations, and demanded proofs and evidence of the truth of that claim. However, after their conversion had been acknowledged in the *fatwas* issued in Baghdad and by the *imams* in other Moslem countries, Jalal-ad-Din went to great lengths to win over [the people of Qazvin]. He sought the favour of the leading men [of the town] and prevailed on them to send several notables to Alamut to inspect the libraries of Hasan-i-Sabbah and Jalal-ad-Din's own ancestors and extract therefrom great quantities of treatises written by his father and grandfather and Hasan-i-Sabbah as also other books dealing with the creed of heresy and atheism and contrary to the beliefs of the Moslems. Jalal-ad-Din ordered these works to be burnt in the very presence of those Qazvinis and at their prompting; and he uttered curses and maledictions against his forefathers and the authors of that propaganda. I have seen a letter in the hands of the notables and cadis of Qazvin, which had been dictated by Jalal-ad-Din Hasan and in which he spoke of his adoption of Islam, and acceptance of the rites of the Shari'at, and deliverance from the heresy and belief of his forefathers and ancestors. And Jalal-ad-Din had written a few words in his own handwriting upon the front of that letter and in mentioning his deliverance from

their religion *(mazhab)*, when he came to the names of his father and ancestors, he added the curse: '*May God fill their graves with fire!*'

In this manner, then, was the conversion of Jalal-ad-Din and his followers made known, and the Moslems came to be on fairly friendly terms with them, and the Caliph of the time and the sultans of the age forbade their subjects to attack or kill them.

Jalal-ad-Din's mother, who was a Moslem woman, went on the Pilgrimage in the year 609/1212–13, and Jalal-ad-Din sent a *sabil* with her. In Baghdad she was treated with honour and respect and on the Pilgrimage route her *sabil* was placed in front of those of [other] rulers *(mulūk-i-aṭrāf)*.[28]

[245] Jalal-ad-Din became extremely friendly with the *atabeg* Muzaffar-ad-Din Öz-Beg, who was king of Arran and Azerbaijan; and what he did for other rulers he did even more for him. Nasir-ad-Din Mengli,[29] the ruler *(mutamallik)* of Iraq, was on hostile terms with the *atabeg*, and his troops were planning an attack on the lands of Jalal-ad-Din. The *atabeg* and Jalal-ad-Din concluded an alliance and in 610/1213–14 Jalal-ad-Din entered Azerbaijan to render aid to the *atabeg* and make war on Mengli. During the year and a half that Jalal-ad-Din was in his kingdom the *atabeg* treated him with great consideration and there was a brotherly feeling between them. The *atabeg* used to send him abundant supplies of provisions and excessive quantities of money, so much so that after meeting the requirements of Jalal-ad-Din in the way of rations *(anzāl u 'ulūfāt)* of every kind and after dispensing the gifts and robes of honour which he showered not only upon his great officers but also upon the generality of his troops he would still every day send 1,000 *parpara*[30] gold dinars to his treasury for [246] current expenses *(ḥavā'ij-bahā)*.

Jalal-ad-Din remained for some time in Bailaqan with the

[28] See above, p. 364.

[29] On Nāṣir-ad-Dīn Mengli, one of the 'Slave Kings' who ruled Persian Iraq in the period between the collapse of the Seljuqs and the coming of the Mongols, see M.Q., III, 407–8.

[30] The Byzantine *hyperperon*, the *yperpera* of Carpini and Rubruck. See Rockhill, 90, n. 1.

atabeg Öz-Beg, and they sent joint ambassadors to Baghdad, Syria and the other lands to seek assistance in expelling Mengli from Iraq. From Baghdad there was sent Muzaffar-ad-Din Wajh-as-Sabu'[31] with a large army to their aid, and orders were given that Muzaffar-ad-Din Kök-Böri,[32] the son of Zain-ad-Din 'Ali Küchük,[33] should join them with an army from Irbil on the understanding that on the day of battle they should act in accordance with his counsel and plan and submit themselves to his command and disposition. An army was likewise sent to their assistance from Syria.

In the year 611/1214–15 they defeated Nasir-ad-Din Mengli. The account of this is well-known and to introduce it here would not conform to the arrangement of this history. Saif-ad-Din Ighlamish[34] was set over Iraq in place of Mengli [247] and Abhar and Zanjan were given to Jalal-ad-Din as a reward for his trouble; and for some years these two towns and districts were held by his commissioners *(gumāshtagān)*.

After residing for a year and a half in Iraq, Arran and Azerbaijan Jalal-ad-Din now returned to Alamut. During these journeyings and in the course of his residence in those countries his claim to be a Moslem had been more widely accepted and Moslems now mixed with him more freely. He asked the emirs of Gilan for the hands of their women in marriage. They held back and refused to agree without the sanction of Baghdad. Thereupon Jalal-ad-Din sent a messenger thither, and the Commander of the Faithful an-Nasir li-Din-Allah granted his request and gave permission for the emirs of Gilan to ally themselves in marriage with him in accordance with the laws of Islam. By virtue of this sentence Jalal-ad-Din took four wives from the

[31] See above, p. 469, n. 8.

[32] See above, p. 422, n. 4, also the following note.

[33] *küchük* in Turkish means 'young dog'. (Houtsma, *Glossar*, 96.) Cf. the name of his son—Kök-Böri, i.e. 'Blue Wolf'.

[34] Ighlamïsh, originally a slave of the *atabegs* of Azerbaijan, afterwards entered the service of Sultan Muhammad Khorazm-Shah. His death at the hands of the Assassins (see above, p. 391) must, as M.Q. has shown, III, 415–17, have occurred in the beginning of 614 A.H., i.e. in the spring or summer of 1217. On the meaning of his name see above, p. 391, n. 6.

daughters of the emirs of Gilan, the first of whom was the sister of Kai-Ka'us, who is still alive and ruler *(mutamallik)* of the district of Kutum.[35] Jalal-ad-Din's son, 'Ala-ad-Din Muhammad, was born of this [248] wife.

They[36] said that when the World-Emperor Chingiz-Khan set out from Turkestan, before he came to the countries of Islam, Jalal-ad-Din had in secret sent couriers to him and written letters tendering his submission and allegiance. This was alleged by the Heretics and the truth is not clear, but this much is evident, that when the armies of the World-Conquering Emperor Chingiz-Khan entered the countries of Islam, the first ruler on this side of the Oxus to send ambassadors, and present his duty, and accept allegiance was Jalal-ad-Din.

He adopted the course of rectitude and laid the foundation of righteousness, but after his death his ignorant son and bemused followers in their wretchedness and stupidity did not set about strengthening and completing that foundation, but by their evil counsel, nay, by irresistible ill fortune they proceeded to undo that project, until they saw that which they saw. *'The plotting of evil shall only enmesh those who make use of it.'*[37]

The Commander of the Faithful 'Ali, the son of Abu-Talib, *(upon whom be peace!)* once spoke in a sermon of certain rebels who had suffered the ill consequences of their wicked plans. A word or two of what he said are applicable to the above-mentioned people and to what has just been recorded regarding them: *'They sowed iniquity and watered it with pride, and they have reaped perdition.'*

[249] 'Ala-ad-Din was 9 years old when he succeeded Jalal-ad-Din, who died in the middle of Ramazan, 618 [beginning of November, 1221]. He had only the one son, the aforesaid 'Ala-ad-Din.

The disease of which Jalal-ad-Din died was dysentery and it

[35] Kūtum is the present-day Kuhdum, a district of Gilan lying to the west of the Safid-Rud, between Manjil on the south and Resht on the north. See M.Q., III, 418–25, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 390.

[36] Evidently the Isma'ilis are meant.

[37] Koran, xxxv, 41.

was suspected that he had been poisoned by his wives in connivance with his sister and some of his kinsmen. The vizier, who by virtue of his will was administrator of the kingdom and tutor of his son 'Ala-ad-Din, put to death a great number of his relations, his sister, wives and intimates and confidants on this suspicion; and some he burnt.

Now 'Ala-ad-Din was but a child and had received no education, for according to their false creed and counterfeit belief their Imam is basically the same, whether an infant, a youth or an old man, and whatever he says or does, in whatever condition he may be, must be right, and to obey his command is the religion of that people without religion. Accordingly, whatever course 'Ala-ad-Din might take no mortal could express disapproval thereof, and because of their wicked beliefs they would not allow him to be chastised, advised or guided aright. As a consequence they neglected their spiritual and temporal duties, the observance of the laws which they had adopted with Islam and the conduct of affairs of state; and the ignorant child whom they had placed in charge of spiritual and temporal matters and constituted the guardian of their interests—

Whoso takes the crow for a guide, the burial-ground of
the Magians is his place of siesta—[38]

used to play and sport with a group of other children and keep camels and breed sheep, whilst the administration of affairs fell to the decision of women, and the foundations his father had laid were overthrown, [250] and his plans, which were on the way to fulfilment, frustrated. And first of all, those who for fear of his father had adopted the Shari'at and Islam but in their foul hearts and murky minds still believed in the wicked creed of his grandfather—'*and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts*' [39]—seeing now no one to prevent and deter them from the commission of forbidden sins and abominations and to urge and impel them to follow the laws and practices [of the True Faith] and comply with the traditions of righteousness and orthodoxy, returned once more to their heresy and irreligion and

[38] See above, p. 382 and n. 62.

[39] Koran, ii, 87.

when a little time had elapsed had recovered their power and strength. And the rest, who had accepted Islam from conviction and wished to continue in that faith, took fright lest they should be attacked and overwhelmed by the Heretics and for fear of their lives again concealed the fact that they were Moslems; and the Heresy *(may God never suffer it to return again!)* prevailed for the second time amongst that accursed people and luckless crew. And on this account the interests of religion and state and the concerns of this world and the next were neglected and faced complete ruin.

After this child had reigned for some five or six years a physician whom they employed, acting contrary to instructions and advice and without the child's being ill or there being any other reason, opened a vein and took away an excessive quantity of blood. His brain was affected, apparitions appeared in front of him and in a short while he was overcome with the disease of melancholia. No one had the courage to suggest that he should follow a regimen or undergo some kind of treatment, and the physicians there and those who had some sense and knowledge did not dare to say that he was suffering from melancholia or some such malady, otherwise the vulgar of that sect would have sought their blood, for such a disease, connected as it was with deficiency of sense and decline of intelligence, [251] might not be attributed to the Imam, otherwise some of his commands and actions might be ascribed to disturbance of the mind or corruption of the constitution and brain. Consequently the disease grew daily worse until it completely overpowered him. During the last few years of his reign the effects of this malady, in addition to his natural lack of intelligence and the want of education in his youth, turned the witless 'Ala-ad-Din into a madman fit only to be kept in bonds and chains. (Since this occurred in the present age and everyone knows about his evil habits, his depraved imagination, his indifference and derangement, his utter madness and his obnoxious customs, there is no need to mention these matters here: to recount them in detail would take too long, indeed the account of but a hundredth part of them could not be written down in [many] volumes.) [To

these things] were added the pride of kingship and the arrogance of a man whose followers and supporters had from his childhood till the end of his life been but ignorant wretches, who because of their vain imaginings and foolish fancies had fixed it in his brain and firmly implanted it in his murky heart and blundering mind that everything that he thought he had read from the inscriptions on the ' Preserved Tablet ',[40] that everything that he said he said through divine inspiration and that any mistake or error in his thought or speech was not possible. And finally he too was deceived thereby, being already in error, and used to relate about past events [252] lies which appeared [to them] marvels and also to give mysterious reports about the future, all of which was hitting in the dark, and talking at random, and downright lying, and utter shamelessness; and in uttering these ravings he recked not how the intelligent might give him the lie.

Because of his lack of breeding and experience he was so ill-natured and short-tempered that no one dared contradict him or mention in his presence some point in the administration of his kingdom that he was a little annoyed about: without any doubt the reply to such a person would have been immediate execution with torture consisting of shameful mutilation and the amputation of his limbs. As a result all reports on affairs inside and outside his realm and on the doings of friend or foe were kept hidden from him—so much so that the ambassadors whom he sent to the courts of kings, when they returned, would never repeat to him the reply which the kings had given to his request and speech because it was not to his liking. Although he realized this he kept it to himself; and no adviser ever dared breathe a word of it to him. Now all such messages to the kings were nothing but a pack of lies and a tissue of falsehoods; but he thought that these fabrications which his own foolish followers either from ignorance or from fear affected to believe would find acceptance at the courts of kings and that intelligent persons would be taken in by them.

Theft, highway robbery and assault were daily occurrences in his kingdom with and without his connivance; and he thought

[40] *Sc.* of God's decrees to the end of time.

he could excuse such conduct with false words and the bestowal of money. And when these things had passed all bounds his life, wives, children, home, kingdom and wealth were forfeited to that madness and insanity. This is a matter on which there is no need to expatiate it being so [253] clear and evident.

Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah was the eldest son of 'Ala-ad-Din and when he was a child 'Ala-ad-Din himself was but a youth, for in age there were only 18 years between them. While Rukn-ad-Din was still a child 'Ala-ad-Din used to say to himself that he would be Imam and was his heir-apparent. When he grew older their wretched followers made no difference between him and his father in rank or in the respect accorded to them; and his word was law in the same way as his father's. 'Ala-ad-Din became hostile to him and now used to say that another son would be his heir. Their followers, in accordance with their tenets, refused to accept this and said that only the first designation was valid.

'Ala-ad-Din was always annoying Rukn-ad-Din. In his insanity and melancholy madness he would constantly torment, and persecute, and punish him without cause. He always had to stay with the womenfolk in a room adjoining his father's and did not dare to come out in the daytime. Whenever his father was drunk, or had gone, as was his custom, to his flock of sheep, or was employed in some other way and so was unaware [of his son's activities], Rukn-ad-Din would leave his room to drink wine or to go wherever he wished.

In the year 653/1255-56 'Ala-ad-Din's insanity grew worse and, because of celestial causes and conjunctions to mention which would lead to prolixity and which are not suitable for inclusion in this history, his displeasure with Rukn-ad-Din increased, he scolded and tormented him continuously; and his attacks and threats were more frequent than ever. Rukn-ad-Din felt that his life was not safe with him and indeed used to say: 'My life is not safe with my father.' And on this account he was planning to flee from him, go to the castles in Syria and gain possession of them; or else to seize Alamut, Maimun-Diz and some of the [other] castles of Rudbar, which were full

of treasure and stores, and seceding from his father rise in rebellion.

It so happened that in that year most of the ministers and chief men in 'Ala-ad-Din's kingdom had become apprehensive of him, for none was sure of his life. Some of them had been accused by him of following Rukn-ad-Din and he was angry with them on this account; against others, with his crooked mind and disordered brain, he had made other charges, and he was constantly annoying and tormenting them. And although in their fear they said nothing to one another and overtly continued in their former hypocrisy, high and low were all weary of him and perceived that the measures he had adopted when the symptoms of adversity appeared upon his affairs would not preserve the kingdom.

Rukn-ad-Din used the following argument as a decoy. 'Because,' he said, 'of my father's evil behaviour the Mongol army intends to attack this kingdom, and my father is concerned about nothing. I shall secede from him and send messengers to the Emperor of the Face of the Earth and to the servants of his Court and accept submission and allegiance. And henceforth I shall allow no one in my kingdom to commit an evil act [and so ensure] that land and people may survive.'

For these reasons most of the leading men, the ministers and the soldiers swore allegiance to him and allied themselves with him on the understanding that wherever he went they should accompany him and defend him against his father's troops and followers, giving their lives for him; except that if his father [himself] came against him they would not strike a blow at him or raise a hand against him.

A month having passed since this consultation Rukn-ad-Din fell ill and took to his bed and so was unable to take any action. [255] One day his father drank wine and fell into a drunken sleep in the very place where he had been drinking, a hut made of wood and reeds adjoining his sheep-fold. Several *ghulams*, shepherds, camel-drivers and other like scum and rabble lay down to sleep all round him. At midnight he was found murdered, his head having been severed with a single blow of

an axe.[41] An Indian and a Turcoman who lay asleep beside him had also been wounded: the Turcoman afterwards died but the Indian recovered. This event occurred on the last day of Shavval, 653 [1st of December, 1255], in a place which they call Shirkuh [42] and which ʿAla-ad-Din often frequented.

ʿAla-ad-Din's sons and family accused several persons of the murder and acting on that suspicion they put to death several of his courtiers and retainers who had been seen in the night standing guard near the place of the murder. Indeed they had opened the road of suspicion and fantasy to far and near, so much so that some said that two or three unknown persons had come from Qazvin, made their way to ʿAla-ad-Din's bedside, killed him, with the agreement and connivance of his favourites and chief officials and under their guidance, and then returned from whence they had come, likewise under the protection and with the consent of those favourites. And in their suspicions and surmises they accused everyone of so conniving with them and acting as guides to them. However, after a week had passed the clarity of the signs and indications caused it to be decided on the evidence of events and unanimously agreed that Hasan of Mazandaran, who was ʿAla-ad-Din's chief favourite and [256] his inseparable companion night and day and the repository of all his secrets, was the person who had killed him. It was said too that Hasan's wife, who was ʿAla-ad-Din's mistress and from whom Hasan had not concealed the facts of the murder, had revealed that secret to Rukn-ad-Din. Be that as it may, after a week had passed, Hasan was put to death, his body burnt and several of his children, two daughters and a son, likewise burnt; and Rukn-ad-Din reigned in his father's stead.

[41] Lit. 'an axe having been struck at his neck, and with that one blow his affair had been settled'. Cf. the phrase *gardan zadan* 'to behead', lit. 'to strike the neck'. This is how d'Ohsson, III, 188, understood the passage: '. . . sa tête était séparée du tronc . . .'

[42] Shīrkūh or Shīra-Kūh is the name of a mountain and valley in the western part of the district of Alamut. It is in this valley that the Alamut river flows together with the Talaqan river to form the Shah-Rud proper. Shirkuh is also the name of a village in the valley. (M.Q.)

Hasan of Mazandaran had been carried off from that province in his childhood by the Mongol army; he had escaped from them in Iraq and gone to the kingdom of 'Ala-ad-Din. He was a handsome lad and 'Ala-ad-Din, when he saw him, took a liking to him and attached him to his person. He enjoyed the complete confidence of 'Ala-ad-Din, who held him in extreme honour and allowed him great freedom of speech; and yet in his madness and evil nature was constantly imagining pretexts to torment him and used to deal him cruel blows. Most of his teeth had been broken and a piece had been cut off the instrument of his virility. When his beard had grown and to the very end, when there were some signs of grey in his hair, 'Ala-ad-Din still had eyes for no one else and preferred him to beardless boys and such loves. He had given a maidservant of his, who was his mistress, to Hasan as wife, and though Hasan had several children by her he did not dare enter his own house or sleep with his wife without 'Ala-ad-Din's leave. And while 'Ala-ad-Din had commerce with Hasan's wife he did not avoid Hasan. Now when craving boons or reporting events, as also in the case of other matters, nay even [257] affairs of state *(maṣāliḥ)* the viziers and chief officials of 'Ala-ad-Din and all his subjects used to seek to gain Hasan's ear, for no other could speak as freely to 'Ala-ad-Din and no affair was so promoted by another's words as it was advanced by his. And often in reply to a request Hasan would himself issue a warrant *(parvāna)* and give orders without consulting 'Ala-ad-Din; and all such instructions would be put into effect. From the perquisites he thus obtained [43] he had amassed a large fortune which he was unable to enjoy and which he kept concealed from 'Ala-ad-Din. His clothes were made of wool and coarse linen and were generally old and tattered like those of his evil master, 'Ala-ad-Din; for he had always to live like 'Ala-ad-Din in food, clothing and everything and used constantly to follow the flocks of sheep with him on foot, and only rarely enjoyed the luxury of riding a donkey. If he had worn better clothes or if 'Ala-ad-Din

[43] *madākhil.* On the subject of such indirect earnings (which he calls *mudakhil*) see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question,* I, 440–5.

had had any suspicion of his wealth, he would have been subjected to cruel blows, and violent tortures, and shameful mutilations.

For these reasons he bore many a grudge against 'Ala-ad-Din and one cause of anger had been joined to another. Moreover he was a Moslem and although he had lived for years with Ala-ad-Din, the love of Islam and the hatred of heresy were firmly implanted in his mind and faith. There were certain Moslems in the service of 'Ala-ad-Din who were obliged to remain as prisoners in his kingdom; and with these, as fellow-exiles and co-religionists, Hasan was on terms of intimacy and friendship: whenever he had the chance of conversing with them he would do nothing but expectorate a recital of the woes and hardships of his life together with an account of the vices and a propagation of the crimes and enormities of 'Ala-ad-Din. For these reasons Success was his constant companion until he became a *ghazi* by slaying 'Ala-ad-Din and in that holy war imperilled life and soul—*God reward him for his good intent!*

[258] There were some who said that Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah had killed his father, but this was contrary to the facts, for on that night he was in a fever and confined to his bed and had been unable to stir for some days past. However, for the reasons previously mentioned and in view of the circumstances of the case it can be assumed that his father's death was not distasteful or unwelcome to him and that Hasan did what he did with his consent. That Hasan had a prior arrangement with Rukn-ad-Din and committed that act in consultation and agreement with him is possible, because when it was reported that he had killed 'Ala-ad-Din Rukn-ad-Din did not arrest him or institute inquiries as to who had been his accomplice in the deed and from whence the instigation had come. Instead he had recourse to the pretext of sending him to see to the Royal flock of sheep left behind by 'Ala-ad-Din, with orders to examine the sheep and see to their wants. He then sent a trusty follower after him, who catching Hasan unawares struck off his head with an axe and killed him in such a way that he did not know that he was being attacked [259] and was unable to utter a word.

Because of such indications people said that Rukn-ad-Din had been in a conspiracy with Hasan to murder his father and had been afraid lest, if an investigation was held, Hasan might speak of his knowledge and sanction of the deed or even of his having commanded and requested it. And Rukn-ad-Din's mother and brothers during the one year that he reigned as his father's successor, whenever they were annoyed with him or took him to task, used to accuse him of the murder of 'Ala-ad-Din and count that as one of his faults. And they implicated with him such as had been considered his friends and favourites during 'Ala-ad-Din's lifetime and whom Rukn-ad-Din, upon his accession, had honoured and made his personal attendants *(khāṣṣān)*; nay, they said that Rukn-ad-Din had either sanctioned or commanded his father's death and that he had done so at their suggestion and instigation. '*And God knows best what is hidden and secret.*'

[XIV]

OF THE HISTORY OF RUKN-AD-DIN KHUR-SHAH AFTER HIS FATHER'S DEATH

THREE days later, having completed the mourning ceremonies and succeeded his father, he dispatched the army which the latter had ordered to attack Shal-Rud [1] in the district of Khalkhal: [260] they took the castle and looted and massacred. He then sent messengers to Gilan and the other neighbouring countries to announce his father's death; and acting contrary to his father's disposition he began to lay the foundations of friendship with those people. He likewise sent messengers to all his provinces ordering the people to behave as Moslems and keep the roads secure.

And he sent an *elchi* to Yasa'ur [2] Noyan in Hamadan to say

[1] Perhaps identical with Shāl, one of the 'boroughs' of Gilan. See Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 391.

[2] On the spelling of the name see above, i. 46, n. 13.

that now that it was his turn to reign he would tread the path of submission and scrape the dust of disaffection from the countenance of loyalty. Yasa'ur Noyan sent a reply to say that the retinue of Prince Hülegü was on the point of arriving and that it was advisable for him to come out in person; and he strongly urged him to take this course. After [further] exchange of messengers Rukn-ad-Din sent a message agreeing to send his brother Shahanshah on in advance to set out together with Yasa'ur Noyan. He accordingly dispatched Shahanshah with a number of court officials on the 1st of Jumada I.[3] Shahanshah reached Yasa'ur Noyan near Qazvin and Yasa'ur sent his son Moraqa [4] to accompany him to the King.

On the 10th of that month [5th of June, 1256] Yasa'ur entered the Rudbar of Alamut at the head of Mongol and Tazik troops. [261] Rukn-ad-Din's soldiers and *fida'is* assembled on Siyalan-Kuh [5] above Alamut. The Mongol army ascended from beneath and engaged in a great battle, but since the hilltop was strongly fortified and the garrison large, they withdrew, destroying the crops and laying the district waste. Meanwhile the *elchis* who had been sent from the World-King at Ustu [6] after the arrival of Shahanshah reached Rukn-ad-Din at the end of Jumada II [second half of June, 1256] and delivered a *yarligh* full of encouragement and [262] benevolence to the effect that since Rukn-ad-Din had sent his brother and had demonstrated his submission and loyalty and still did so, the King had forgiven the crimes committed by his father and by their people during his father's reign. As for Rukn-ad-Din himself he had committed no crime in the period since he had succeeded his father. He should destroy his castles and come to do homage, and the armies would then not lay waste his territories. Rukn-ad-Din declared his allegiance and destroyed some castles, but in the case of Alamut, Maimun-Diz and Lammasar he simply removed

[3] *Sc.* 654. (M.Q.) I.e. the 27th May, 1256.

[4] MWRAQA. Cf. the Moroqa of the *Secret History* (§ 202).

[5] Reading SYALAN, as M.Q. suggests, for the SYALAN of the text (which is based on O.) This mountain, which Miss Stark in *The Valleys of the Assassins* calls Syalan, lies to the north-east of Alamut.

[6] Ustū, i.e. Ustuvā, on which see above, i. 173, n. 10.

the gates and demolished some of the battlements *(sar-dīvār)* and turrets *(kungra)*.[7]

In obedience to the King's decree just mentioned Yasa'ur Noyan and the armies withdrew from the region. And a member of the King's retinue accompanied by Sadr-ad-Din proceeded to the King to announce this state of affairs and ask for a *basqaq*: they also asked for a year's grace before Rukn-ad-Din presented himself. And some *elchis* remained there for the purpose of destroying the remainder of the castles. In the beginning of Sha'ban [end of August to beginning of September] the King's *elchi* and Sadr-ad-Din, having reached the King at Shuqan,[8] [263] returned from the *ordu* and delivered a *yarligh* intended [at once] to encourage and intimidate. They were accompanied by Tükel[9] Bahadur and their instructions were that if Rukn-ad-Din accepted allegiance he should, in accordance with the decree, present himself [before the King] and Tükel would then protect the country in his absence as *basqaq*.

However, since Rukn-ad-Din in his shortsightedness was delaying his departure somewhat and was rather afraid, he hesitated a little, and the dust of procrastination arose. He sent his vizier Shams-ad-Din Gilaki and his second cousin[10] Saif-ad-Din Sultan Malik, the son of Kiya Bu-Mansur, to accompany the *elchis* to the King on the 17th of Sha'ban [9th of September]; and he again repeated his excuses and asked for a period of grace. He likewise sent two mandates *(miṣāl)* to the effect that his lieutenants in Girdkuh and Quhistan should present themselves before the King and give expression to their loyalty and submission. The two aforesaid persons reached the King near Ray, and since the royal standards had been borne into the

[7] Cf. above, p. 618, also Rubruck's description of Darband: 'It has very strong walls without moats and towers of great dressed *(politis)* stones: but the Tartars have destroyed the tops of the towers and the parapets of the walls, making the towers even with the walls.' (Rockhill, 262.)

[8] As M.Q. has shown, III, 425–8, the *YYQAQ* of the text must be a corruption of an original ŠQAN, i.e. Shuqān, now Shughān or Shūghān, the name of a village (formerly a medium-sized town) between Bujnurd and Jajarm.

[9] Reading TWKAL for the TWLAK of the text. The corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din (ed. Quatremère, 148) has TWKL.

[10] Son of his father's paternal uncle.

district of Lar and Damavand Shams-ad-Din Gilaki was dispatched from thence [264] to Girdkuh to bring the governor before the King; another companion of the vizier was sent to Quhistan to fetch the governor of that region. As for Saif-ad-Din Sultan Malik himself he was sent back to Rukn-ad-Din with the message that the World-King had halted at Damavand and Rukn-ad-Din should present himself before him there: should he be delayed up to five days by his preparations he should send on his son in advance. They[11] arrived at the foot of Maimun-Diz on the 1st of Ramazan [22nd of September]. With the news of the approach of the world-conquering banners to that region and of the Royal command that had been delivered Rukn-ad-Din and his people were thrown into confusion, and fear and dread overcame him. He said he would send his son. This he did at the suggestion of his advisers and counsellors,[12] and they began to make the preparations. However, in secret, on the advice of women and shortsighted persons he was resorting to fraud and misrepresentation. There was a child of the same age as his own son, born of a Kurdish woman who had been a servant in his father's household, and who, when her pregnancy became noticeable, had been sent back by 'Ala-ad-Din to her father's house. When the child was born none had dared to say that it was 'Ala-ad-Din's and no attention had been paid to it. Rukn-ad-Din now used this child as a decoy. Deceiving and misleading his ministers and advisers he pretended that he was sending his own son and actually dispatched this child in the company of the *elchis* on the 17th of Ramazan [8th of October].

The King's banners having reached the borders of Rukn-ad-Din's country, how could the truth be hidden? It was clear that he had sent a spurious son, but nothing was said on behalf of the King[13] when the fraud was discovered; it was ignored

[11] I.e. Hülegü's envoys. (M.Q.)

[12] One of these was the celebrated philosopher Nasir-ad-Din Ṭūsī, who according to Ibn-Isfandiyar (tr. Browne, 259) had been forcibly detained by 'Ala-ad-Din in Alamut and made to serve as his vizier.

[13] *az ḥazrat-i-pādshāh . . . na-farmūdand.*

and concealed.[14] Two days later the false son was sent back with a message to the effect that he was still but a child: if Rukn-ad-Din [265] could not come till later he should first send another brother; and Shahanshah, who had for some time been in attendance at the *ordu,* would be sent back to Rukn-ad-Din, as he had requested. The false son reached Rukn-ad-Din on the 22nd of Ramazan [13th of October].

Meanwhile the distance between the Rudbar of Alamut and the King's *ordu* being but slight, *elchis* were constantly passing to and fro bearing messages from the King, promises and threats, encouragement and admonition. On the 5th of Shavval [26th of October] Rukn-ad-Din sent another brother, Shiran-Shah by name, to the King, before whom he arrived on the 7th of Shavval [28th of October] in a district called Fiskir,[15] one of the dependencies of Ray. At the same time the vizier Gilaki had returned from Girdkuh and brought the governor of Girdkuh, the Cadi Taj-ad-Din Mardan-Shah, before the World-King. On the 9th of Shavval [30th of October] Rukn-ad-Din's brother was sent back with the message that if Rukn-ad-Din destroyed the castle of Maimun-Diz and came to present himself in person before the King, he would, in accordance with His Majesty's gracious custom, be received with kindness and honour; but that if he failed to consider the consequences of his actions, God alone knew [what would then befall him].[16]

Whilst [266] these discussions were proceeding and *elchis* had been passing to and fro it was nearly a month since Buqa-Temür and Köke-Ilgei had set out from the direction of Ustundar with large forces, and from the sea-coast, which lay to the rear of Rukn-ad-Din's kingdom, and in particular Maimun-Diz, his fortress and stronghold, they were drawing near and surrounding their castles and dwelling-places.

[14] Cf. above, p. 620. 'Evidently Hûlâgû privately suspected that this was not his real son—an opinion which Juwaynî adopted, writing in Hûlâgû's lifetime, in spite of unanimous Ismâ'îlî testimony; but which Rashîd ad-Dîn rejected.' (Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* 267.)

[15] M.Q., III, 428-9, identifies Fiskir (FSKR) or Piskir (PSKR) with the previously mentioned BYSKLH DZ, i.e. Pishkil-Dara. See above, p. 620, n. 8.

[16] The usual formula. See above, 1. 26 and n. 4.

In the middle of Shavval [beginning of November] the World-King set out from Piskir [17] for Rukn-ad-Din's country by way of Talaqan and on the 17th of the month [7th of November] encamped at the foot of Maimun-Diz; the other armies converged from every side and surrounded the castle.

Since Rukn-ad-Din delayed and procrastinated following his star and entering the road of his own good, he refused to come down from the castle, and for two or three days some of the King's forces who were near to the castle, skirmished and fought with the mountain-dwellers; and those mountain-dwellers and soldiers of Rukn-ad-Din gained some victories and for a time [18] were immune from the dread and fury of [267] the Royal might. On the 25th of Shavval [15th of November] there was a battle with a Sultan, than whom there can be no greater nor more dreadful. Rukn-ad-Din now saw what he had to expect and realized that he could not resist. The next day he sent out his son, his only one, and another brother called Iran-Shah with a delegation of notables, officials and leaders of his people; while on Sunday the 29th of Shavval [19th of November] he came in person before the World-King and had the good fortune of waiting upon him. He brought all his family and dependents *(muttaṣilān)* out of Maimun-Diz and offered his treasures as a token of his allegiance. These were not so splendid as fame had reported them but, such as they were, they were brought out of the castle. The greater part thereof was distributed by the King among his troops. The castle was taken and Rukn-ad-Din's other castles likewise. The destruction of these castles and the subjugation of the country will be more clearly explained in the sequel.

The murder of 'Ala-ad-Din, the father of Rukn-ad-Din Khur-Shah, occurred on the last of Shavval, 653 [1st of December, 1255], and he himself began to hold sway over that people, who are their followers and adherents, on the last of Shavval; and it was on the last of Shavval, 654 [19th of November, 1256] that he came out of Maimun-Diz and stood obediently in the presence of the King. He had reigned in succession to his father for one full year.

[17] See above, p. 716, n 15. [18] Reading *muddati* with most of the MSS.

[XV]

[268] OF RUKN-AD-DIN'S CASTLES AFTER HIS COMING DOWN

SINCE Fortune still smiled on Rukn-ad-Din he came down from the castle, and of the emirs Tamgha,[1] who was one of the emirs of Court, accompanied him as protector with some others. Meanwhile Rukn-ad-Din had sent his trusted men together with *elchis* to demolish and destroy the castles. They razed some 40 castles and the inmates, dogs of the Heresy that they were, came down upon command, except in the castles of Alamut and Lammasar, where they prevaricated and asked [to be allowed] to come down when the King's army approached Alamut.

Two or three days later the King set out; and passing again through the Shahrak [2] of Rudbar they encamped there. In the Days of Ignorance before Islam and also under Islam before the rise of the Heresy this Shahrak had been the residence of the kings of Dailam, and during the reign of 'Ala-ad-Din a garden and a villa *(kūshk)* had been built there, which were their place of recreation. Here the Mongols feasted for nine days in celebration of their victory and then made their way to the foot of Alamut, where they halted for one day, sending Rukn-ad-Din to the foot of the castle [269] to speak with the garrison and call on them [to surrender]. The commander of the castle, one Muqaddim,[3] was refractory and refused to come down. The King left Prince Balaghai with a large force to encompass and besiege the castle, while he himself set out for Lammasar.

The people of Alamut now entered by the gate of discretion and closed the road of rebellion: they sent messenger after messenger to Rukn-ad-Din, [who was now] at the foot of Lammasar,

[1] See above, p. 625, n. 21.

[2] The present-day village of Shahrak in the Andij-Rud sub-district of the district of Alamut. According to Muqaddasi and the author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Sālihi* the residence of the Justānids (see below, p. 720, n. 12) was called Shahristān, and this, M.Q. suggests, was the official, whilst Shahrak was the popular, name of their capital. See M.Q., III, 430–1 and 434–8.

[3] In the corresponding passage of Rashid-ad-Din he is called Muqaddim-ad-Din. (M.Q.)

until he interceded with the King and obtained pardon for their offences. He received a *yarligh* of safe-conduct and proceeded thither. Muqaddim came down from the castle, and a party of Mongols went up, Rukn-ad-Din also receiving permission to go up to the castle. The Mongols broke up the mangonels and removed the gates. The inmates asked for three days' grace and set about removing such goods and chattels as were [still there]. On the fourth day the whole force of soldiers and levies went up and plundered such scraps as were left.

Alamut is a mountain which resembles a kneeling camel with its neck resting on the ground. (Now when I was at the foot of Lammasar, being desirous of inspecting the library, the fame of which had spread throughout the world, [270] I suggested to the King that the valuable books in Alamut ought not to be destroyed. He approved my words and gave the necessary orders; and I went to examine the library, from which I extracted whatever I found in the way of copies of the Koran and [other] choice books after the manner of '*He brought forth the living from the dead*'.[4] I likewise picked out the astronomical instruments such as *kursis*,[5] armillary spheres,[6] complete and partial astrolabes[7] and other[8] . . . that were there. As for the remaining books, which related to their heresy and error and were neither founded on tradition nor supported by reason, I burnt them all. And although the treasuries were copious and gold and silver goods without limit I recited over them the words: '*O yellow, be yellow and O white, be white!*'[9] and

[4] Koran, xxx, 18

[5] The *kursi* is a part of the astrolabe. See Biruni, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, 194 and 195a. On the other hand, Professor Willy Hartner in a letter dated the 8th October, 1956, suggests that, in this context, *kursi*, lit. 'throne' or 'chair', may have some such general meaning as 'stand' or 'support'.

[6] *ẕāt-al-ḥalaq*.

[7] See Biruni, *op. cit.*, 197.

[8] The text has *ash-shu'ā'*, which does not make sense. Some such word as 'instruments' seems indicated, and such is in fact the reading of two inferior MSS., D (*ālāt*) and I (*ālathā-yi*).

[9] An exclamation said to have been made by the Caliph 'Ali upon beholding the riches of the public treasury at Basra. See Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, IV, 236. (M.Q.)

magnanimously shook my sleeve upon them. Now whilst examining this library I found the history of Jil [10] and Dailam that was written for Fakhr-ad-Daula [271] the Buyid.[11] In the section on Alamut it is stated that one of the kings of Dailam, whom they called * Al-i-Justan,[12] began to construct a castle on this mountain in the year 246/860–1. It was the pride of the kings of Dailam and a source of encouragement to the sect of the Isma'ilis. In the history of Sallami [13] it is stated that at the time of the Dailamis' domination of Iraq the governor *(kutvāl)* of that place was called So-and-So Siyah-Chashm,[14] a convert of the Isma'ilis of Egypt. How Hasan-i-Sabbah [15] came to occupy the castle has been described in the relevant chapter.) [272] In truth it was a castle whereof the entries and exits, the ascents and approaches had been so strengthened by plastered walls and lead-covered ramparts *(bunyān)* that when it was being demolished it was as though the iron struck its head on a stone, and it had nothing in its hand and yet still resisted. And in the cavities of these rocks they had constructed several long, wide and tall galleries *(sābāṭ)* and deep tanks, dispensing with the use of stone and mortar, as in the verse: '*And hew out houses in the hills.*' [16] So too they had dug magazines and tanks for wine, vinegar, honey and all sorts of liquids and solids. [And the art of] '*the Satans, every builder and diver*',[17] which is explained and expounded in the *Qisas*,[18] was seen in this structure as the handiwork of men. When the stores therein were being pillaged

[10] I.e. Gilan. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 8.

[11] 976–97.

[12] Reading ĀL JSTAN for the ARJSTAN of the text, as M.Q. suggests. On the Āl-i-Justān or Justānids, who reigned in Dailam from the beginning of the ninth till the middle of the tenth century, see M.Q., III, 432–45.

[13] On Abū-'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as-Sallāmī, whose 'book undoubtedly served as the main source for those authors in whose works we find the most detailed accounts of the history of Khurāsān and Transoxiana, namely Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr', see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 10–11, M.Q., III, 446–9.

[14] The son of Mālik, according to Ibn-al-Athir *sub anno* 316/928–9; and he was called Siyāh-Chashm ('Black Eye') because he had a black spot in one of his eyes. (M.Q.)

[15] Following M.Q.'s suggestion. The text has simply ū 'he'.

[16] Koran, vii, 72.

[17] *Ibid.*, xxxviii, 36.

[18] I.e. the *Qiṣaṣ-al-Anbiyā*. See above, i. 17, n. 41.

and removed a man waded in the honey tank without realizing how deep it was and before he was aware he was immersed in the honey like Jonah—'*had not favour from his Lord reached him, cast forth would he have been on the naked shore, overwhelmed with shame*'.[19] And from the river * Bahru[20] they had brought a conduit to the foot of the castle and from thence a conduit was cut in the rock half way round *(bar madār-i-nīma)* the castle [273] and ocean-like tanks, also of rock, constructed beneath so that the water would be stored in them by its own impetus[21] and was continually flowing on. Most of these stores of liquids and solids, which they had been laying down from the time of Hasan-i-Sabbah, that is over a period of more than 170 years, showed no sign of deterioration and this they regarded as a result of Hasan's sanctity.[22] The remainder of the description of the implements of war and stores is more than can be inserted in a book without tedium.[23]

The King appointed an emir with a large force of soldiers and levies to demolish the castle. Picks were of no use: they set fire to the buildings and then broke them up, and this occupied them for a long time.

The King took up his abode in Lammasar,[24] which was the winter quarters of that region. He gave the Satans of the place some days' grace in case they might abandon their error and that serpent[25]-like people might by a charm be induced to come out of their holes. It was of no avail. He left Tayir-Buqa to besiege it with an army of Mongols and Taziks [274] and

[19] Koran, lxviii, 49. I quote the whole verse with some MSS.

[20] BAHRW, which M.Q. thinks may be a corruption of ŠAHRWD, i.e. Shāh-Rūd. Perhaps the name was erroneously applied to a tributary of the Shah-Rud.

[21] Lit. 'on its own feet'.

[22] In view of Hasan's strict teetotalism and his treatment of his son (see above, p. 680) it is to be presumed that the stores of wine were laid down at some later date!

[23] On the water-supply arrangements in Lammasar see Freya Stark, *The Valleys of the Assassins*, 247–8.

[24] Not of course in the castle, which was still holding out—and continued to hold out for another year.

[25] *sill*: a kind of snake that cannot be charmed.

auspiciously returned in triumph on the 16th of Zul-Hijja, 654 [2nd of January, 1257].

Rukn-ad-Din's personal belongings *(buna)* with his domestics and animals were placed in Qazvin, his army was divided up amongst the emirs and Rukn-ad-Din himself accompanied the King to his *ordu,* which was in the region of Hamadan. He sent two or three trusted men to the castles in Syria together with the King's *elchis* in order to fetch the commanders,[26] take an inventory of the treasuries and guard those castles as subjects of the King until, when the Heaven-residing parasol of the King should reach those regions, a command should be issued as to their fate.

As for Rukn-ad-Din he was viewed with attention and kindness by the King. In the midst of all these events he became enamoured of one of the daughters of the vilest Turks [27] and Majnun-like offered his kingdom in exchange for her love; and in the end, at the King's command, she was bestowed upon him. One day at a wine party he called upon the minstrel to sing the following quatrain:

> O king, I am come to thy door seeking protection.
> And I am come filled with shame at my deeds.
> Thy fortune dragged me hither by the hair—
> Otherwise to what court am I come and on what errand ?

And in the cauldron of his fancy he cooked a mania for stallion Bactrian camels and was always discussing them with any one who had any knowledge about them. One day accordingly, the King gave him a hundred head of female camels. He refused to accept them saying, 'How can I wait for them to breed ?' And he asked for 30 stallions because of his mania for watching camels fighting. [275]

After the consummation of his marriage he asked the King

[26] *kūtvālān.* So several MSS. The text has *kūtvāl-i-ān* 'the commander thereof'.

[27] I.e. a Mongol girl, as is clear from the corresponding passage in Rashid-ad-Din. See Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins,* 269 and n. 8. The two authorities are not, as Hodgson implies, in disagreement, since the term *Atrāk* 'Turks' embraces both the Turks proper and the Mongols.

to send him to the Court of Mengü Qa'an. The King approved his request and on the 1st of Rabi' I, 655 [9th of March, 1257] he set out for Court with nine companions accompanied by *elchis* led by [Bujrai].[28]

[XVI]

OF RUKN-AD-DIN'S FATE AND THE END OF THAT PEOPLE

WHEN, at his request, the King was about to send him on his way to the Court of the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an, he undertook to serve the King, when he came to Girdkuh, by bringing down those wretches from the summit. When he set out the King appointed a party of Mongols led by Bujrai [1] to guard and attend upon him. When they came to the foot of Girdkuh he overtly ordered the garrison to come down but secretly told them not to do so. Departing from thence they came to Bokhara, where, following his whim, he fell out with the *elchis* and they came to blows.

Now it had been laid down in the original *yasa* of Chingiz-Khan and also in the decree of Mengü Qa'an that none of that people should be spared, not even the babe in its cradle. And all his followers in their thousands and hundreds had been guarded by shrewd supervisors *(muvakkal)* and they had spoken words and committed deeds such as [276] called for haste and occasioned the shedding of their blood. The command was therefore issued for *elchis* to depart to all the armies with orders for each unit to put to death the men entrusted to it. And Qaraqai [2] Bitikchi went to Qazvin with the order that Rukn-ad-Din's sons and daughters, brothers and sisters and all of his seed and family should be laid on the fire of annihilation. Two

[28] There is a blank in the text. On Bujrai see below.

[1] BWJRAY.

[2] QRAQAY. Cf. the Caragai of Carpini (Wyngaert, 67). On the other hand, it may be a corrupt form of QRATAY, i.e. Qaratai, as the name is spelt in Rashid-ad-Din ed. Quatremère, 264. See also the English Introduction to Vol. I of the text, xxviii.

or three of them were handed over to Bulaghan [3] to be slain in vengeance for his father Chaghatai [4] who had been stabbed to death by the *fida'is*; and none of their race was spared.

Orders were also sent to Ötegü-China,[5] the commander of the army of Khorasan [277], who was dealing with Quhistan, that he too should drive out such of those people as were obstinately attached to the Heresy on the pretext of raising a levy; and in this way 12,000 persons were put to death. And so they destroyed them wherever they were.

As for Rukn-ad-Din, upon his arrival in Qara-Qorum, the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an said: 'It was unnecessary to bring him on so long a journey. Our ancient *yasa* is well known.' He would not allow him to offer presents but issued the following command to him: 'Seeing that thou claimest to be *il*,[6] why hast thou not destroyed certain castles such as Girdkuh and Lammasar? Thou must go back and when thou hast dismantled those castles thou shalt again have the honour of *tikishmishi*.' [7]

With this hope he was dismissed. When they came to the edge of the * Qanghai [8] the *elchis* led him away from the road on the pretext of a feast they had prepared for him, and then caused him to taste the punishment for all that his forefathers had done to the people of God. He and his followers were kicked to a pulp and then put to the sword; and of him and

[3] BLΓAN 'Sable'. The Qara-Bulaghan (QRA BWLΓAN), 'Black Sable', of Rashid-ad-Din (Khetagurov, 100).

[4] On Chaghatai, a commander of a thousand in the army of Chormaghun, see Khetagurov, *loc. cit.* He belonged to the Arulat or Arlat tribe and was a kinsman of Borji, the early friend of Chingiz-Khan. Rashid-ad-Din calls him Chaghatai 'the Great', presumably to distinguish him from Chaghatai 'the Little' or Sönitei, on whom see Khetagurov, *loc. cit.*, Grigor, 303, also my article, *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes*, 153–4, n. 39. He must be identical with the 'Č'ayatay, who was surnamed Khan (Grigor, *loc. cit.*), whom Cleaves, *The Mongolian Names*, 417, takes to be the second son of Chingiz-Khan.

[5] AWTAKWJYNA. In Mongol 'Old Wolf'. On *ötegü* see Pelliot–Hambis, *Campagnes*, 85.

[6] See above, p. 610, n. 14.

[7] See above, p. 579, n. 87.

[8] I.e. the Khangai range. See above, p. 609, n. 9.

his stock no trace was left, and he and his kindred became but a tale on men's lips and a tradition in the world.

[278] So was the world cleansed which had been polluted by their evil. Wayfarers now ply to and fro without fear or dread or the inconvenience of paying a toll [9] and pray for the [continued] fortune of the happy King who uprooted their foundations and left no trace of any one of them. And in truth that act was the balm of Moslem wounds and the cure to the disorders of the Faith. Let those who shall come after this age and era know the extent of the mischief they wrought and the confusion they cast into the hearts of men. Such as were on terms of agreement with them, whether kings of former times or contemporary rulers, went in fear and trembling [for their lives] and [such as were] hostile to them were day and night in the straits of prison for dread of their scoundrelly minions. It was a cup that had been filled to overflowing; it seemed as a wind that had died. *'This is a warning for those who reflect,'* [10] *and may God do likewise unto all tyrants!*

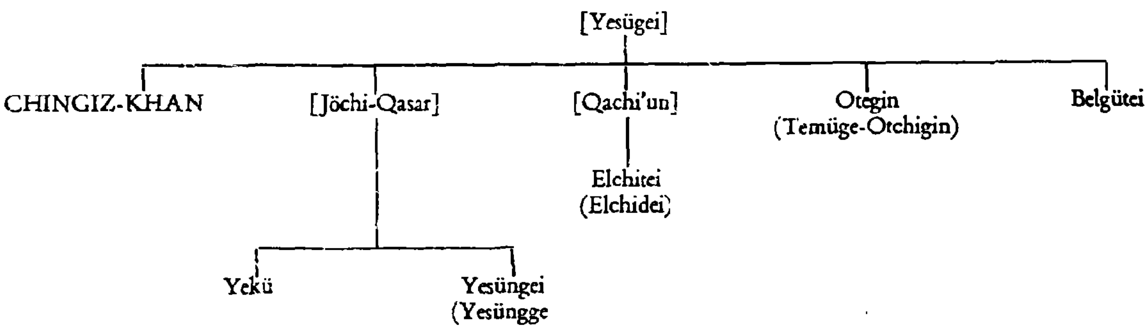
[9] See above, p. 682.

[10] Koran, vi, 116.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES
OF THE
MONGOL PRINCES

N.B.—These tables are intended simply to illustrate the *History of the World-Conqueror*. They therefore include only a few names not mentioned by Juvaini: these have been enclosed in square brackets. Where Juvaini's forms differ from those recorded in Rashid-ad-Din or the Far Eastern sources these latter forms have been added in round brackets. For detailed information on the genealogies of the Mongol princes, based on both the Chinese and the Mohammedan authorities, see Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che.*

1. HOUSE OF YESÜGEI



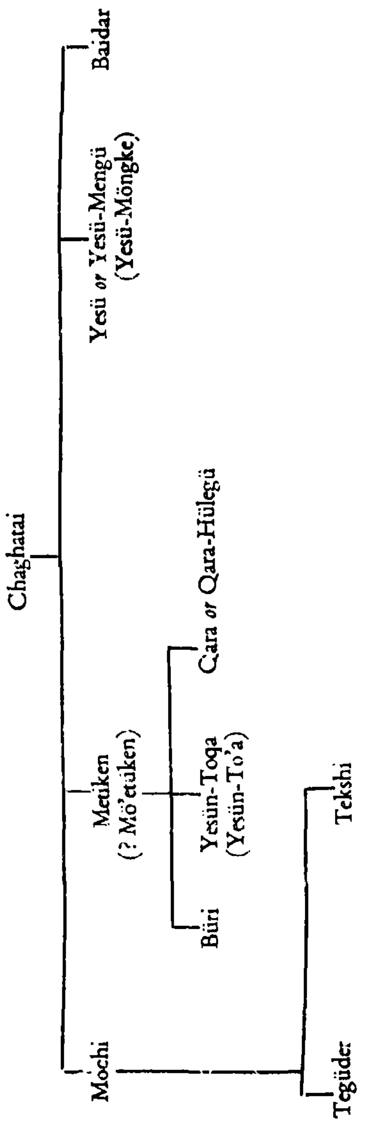
2. HOUSE OF CHINGIZ-KHAN

- CHINGIZ-KHAN
  - Tushi (Jöchi)
  - Chaghatai
  - ÖGETEI (ÖGEDEI)
  - Toli (Tolui)
  - Jürchetei (Jürchedei)
  - Kölgen
  - Orchan

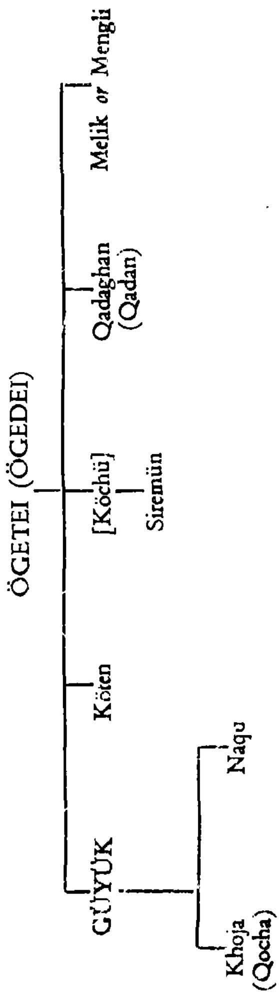
3. HOUSE OF TUSHI (JÖCHI)

- Tushi (Jöchi)
  - Hordu (Orda)
    - Quli
    - Qonquran (Qongqiran)
  - Batu
    - Sartaq
      - Ulaghchi
  - Berke
  - Berkecher
  - Sibaqan (Siban)
    - Balaghai
  - Tangut
  - Boghal (Bo'al)
    - [Mingqadur]
      - Tutar
  - Togha-Temür

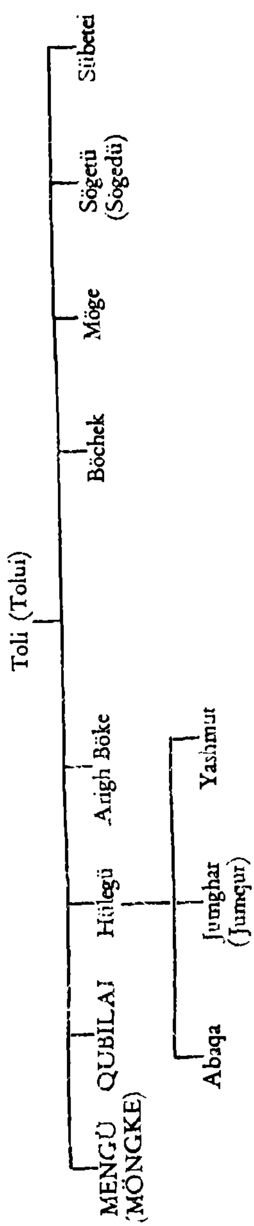
4. HOUSE OF CHAGHATAI



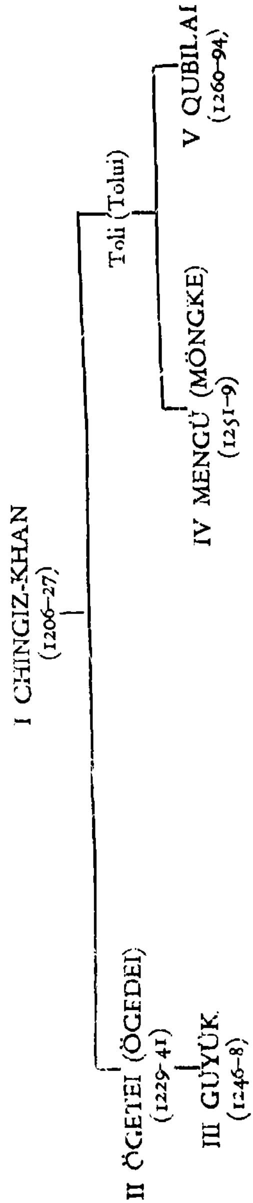
5. HOUSE OF ÖGETEI (ÖGEDEI)



6. HOUSE OF TOLI (TOLUI)



7. THE GREAT KHANS



GENERAL INDEX